

# THE ECLECTIC REVIEW,

FOR JUNE, 1832.

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Art. I. *The History of the Christian Religion and Church during the three first Centuries*, by Dr. Augustus Neander. Translated from the German, by Henry John Rose, B.D. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. xxxii. 391. Price 10s. 6d. London, 1831.

THE original of the present volume has never fallen in our way ; and this is our first opportunity of making acquaintance with an author whose works have obtained considerable celebrity in his own country, and whose opinions have been cited with deference by such inquirers among ourselves as have had access to his writings. Neander, although he may have been a little over-eulogized by some of his admirers, is an able and original inquirer, an honest and indefatigable examiner of primary authorities, a skilful sifter of conflicting testimony, and an impartial expositor of reasonings and results. To his Translator, the student ignorant of the German language, owes no small gratitude for an introduction to a new and abundant source of information concerning many most important points of ecclesiastical history. The version has been got up in a workman-like manner. But before we fairly enter on specific criticism, we must dispose of certain preliminary matters which press for consideration.

Mr. Rose is a member of a hierarchy founded on the distinctive principle of diocesan episcopacy ; while his author is a calm, but powerful advocate for what our friends of 'the Kirk' are accustomed to term 'ecclesiastical parity,' and the only presidency he seems disposed to concede, is that of *primus inter pares*. This, with other incidental differences of sentiment, has induced Mr. R. to insert sundry notes, by way of counteraction or correction ; and it is of this commentary that we are now, with all ex-

pedient brevity, to offer a critical estimate. It is obvious to remark, that there must always be some degree of awkwardness attendant on a difference of opinion between an author and his editor. To say nothing of the suspicion (for which, in the present instance, however, we are quite sure that there cannot be the slightest ground) that such a variance may have affected the trustworthiness of the translation, there is the by no means trifling inconvenience arising from the incessant *tirailade* going on at the foot of the page. It is vexatious and altogether unprofitable, to be *brought up*, at every half-dozen sentence, by an asterisk or a dagger, warning you off the premises, and sending you down to the bottom of the page, for a consolatory assurance that the author is altogether wrong, and, by inevitable inference, the annotator right. Beyond the simple annoyance, there is, indeed, not the slightest cause of complaint. Mr. Rose never loses sight of courtesy and good humour. If his argument fails in logical cogency, it is always expressed in temperate language, and his liberal feelings never desert him. Having no intention to engage in controversy with Mr. R., we should dismiss all further consideration of this matter, were it not for an exceedingly ill-judged attempt to put down in a very summary way, the authority of Lord Chancellor King's able and business-like inquiry into the discipline of the primitive church. We have always considered that small and well compacted volume as a model of sound and impartial investigation. Without implicitly acquiescing in his Lordship's inferences, we have never found occasion to question the fairness of his statements. Nor are we singular in thus estimating this valuable book. It has been the text of many an ample dissertation; it has supplied weapons to innumerable defenders, and stood the assault of a cloud of opponents; nor has the flight of time consigned it either to obscurity or to neglect. Yet does Mr. Rose, on no better authority than that of the British Critic, give currency to the report, that the Author of this admirable treatise was induced to change his sentiments, by the perusal of a reply so thoroughly evasive and sophistical, that, if it really *did* produce the effect claimed for it, we should demand no better evidence that Lord King had lapsed into either dotage or dishonesty. But we discredit the statement altogether: it is precisely one of those innuendoes which a thorough-going partisan delights to make, but which a gentlemanly advocate would disdain to use, or using, would scrupulously cite its authentication. The reply in question, anonymously published, but ascribed to a clergyman named Slatyer or Sclater, is contained in a single volume, small octavo, and seems to have been popular in its day, since our copy has the third edition marked on the title-page. We have found it an amusing exercise, to compare this "Original Draught of the Primitive Church," with Lord King's "Enquiry." Never have we



met with a more striking example of a case which does not occur quite so often as some may be apt to imagine,—the contest between an honest inquirer after truth, and an interested contender for victory. There is, on the one side, an able and rather piquant exhibition of perverse dexterity, with an unscrupulous determination in the maintenance of a thesis: on the other, are all the signs of a conscientious anxiety to bring out a right result, by full and fair investigation.

We should not have the smallest objection to rest the entire merits of the controversy, on a fair comparison of the preliminary discussion concerning the import of the term *CHURCH*, as used by the early Fathers. Lord King's examination is marked by a simple and direct citation of authorities, with a brief but satisfactory statement of results; while his opponent throws up a cloud of dust, mystifying a plain question so completely by evasion and special pleading, that when the reader pauses to recall the original question, he finds himself without a key to the complication of words and phrases, or a clew to their connexion with the premises. We shall make no apology for entering somewhat further into particulars touching this matter. Mr. Rose's preface is before us as fairly as are the sections of Neander; and though it may seem hardly worth while to pursue such a subject into its details, yet, when a weak point is defended by a bold front, it becomes expedient to shew the inefficiency of the guard. With this view, we shall, observing all possible brevity, bring forward an instance or two; not, perhaps, the most glaring that we could have found, but quite sufficient for the purpose.

One of the earliest objects in Lord King's work is, the definition of the term *ἐκκλησία*; and with this view there is introduced a passage from a letter written by Dionysius of Alexandria. His Lordship's opponent elaborates in reply a many-worded plea for the purpose of giving to a republican—we use the word in distinction from *democratic*—phrase, a hierarchical sense. In this process, he substitutes without scruple words and meanings alien from the original document, representing the exiled Dionysius as *ordering* and *commanding* his destitute church to assemble in his forced absence; whereas the original word simply implies the act of convoking or collecting, without the slightest reference to any despotic or authoritative procedure. In a similar spirit of perversion, endeavouring to establish the diocesan authority of the same Dionysius, Sclater describes him as assisted and accompanied by 'presbyters and deacons, *as they are subordinately now taken*;' while the marginal citation, lurking in the obscurity of its original Greek, speaks but of *one* presbyter, and that in terms which exclude all idea of subordination—'my fellow-presbyter (*συμπρεσβύτερος*) Maximus.' Again, Lord King had made reference to the celebrated dictum of Tertullian, '*ubi tres,*

'*ecclesia est*,' for the purpose of excluding all hierarchical notion from the essential character of a Christian church. Our readers would be amused at the cool assurance with which Sclater meets this plain elementary definition. He accuses his Lordship of giving a false aspect to the phrase, by the omission of its concluding words, *licet laici*; and proceeds to sustain the charge by studiously disregarding the bearing and import of the whole paragraph in which this quotation stands, and by a disingenuous juxtaposition of passages which have no connection with each other in the obvious intention of the author. Tertullian's doctrine may be good or bad; but his meaning is not to be mistaken, which the omitted words do but enforce, instead of weakening. *Ubi tres, ecclesia est, licet laici*. The first four words of this aphorism might fairly enough be cited, as containing a distinct and intelligible proposition; but it required a rare intrepidity to represent the additional clause as anything less than an *à fortiori* qualification of the entire phrase. In truth, Sclater has here, as in other places, taken unfair advantage of the system of compression which Lord King not unfrequently carried to an extreme injurious to his reasoning, thus affording opportunity for all those tricks of controversy, of which we know no more finished specimens than may be found in this "Original Draught of the Primitive Church."

So much for the polemic who is put forward by the British Critic and Mr. Rose, as their unanswerable advocate. To resume the proper subject of the present article, it has already been stated, that Neander possesses in a very high degree, not a few of the most important qualities of the ecclesiastical historian. Secular history demands, in an especial manner, skill in the collation and selection of facts: the annals of the Church exhibit more particularly, the origin, the conflict, and the fluctuation of *opinion*; while facts are mainly valuable as illustrations of sentiment and conviction. Now it is difficult enough to detect, amid doubtful motives and clashing statements, the true character and consecution of events; but the difficulty is increased a hundred-fold, when the infirmities, the caprices, the waywardness of the human mind and temper, are to be taken among the indispensable elements of investigation. In the first case, we may, when fairly beset, advantageously commit ourselves to the balance of probabilities; but in the latter, *le probable n'arrive jamais*. And when we add to these circumstances, the overwhelming consideration, that the history of God's Church is, most emphatically, the history of the Divine Counsels as exhibited in his dealings with his people,—that it is, in short, the history of the reign of God, the kingdom of Christ,—it will be manifest how difficult is the task, to give even its outline fairly, and how rare the combination of talent, learning, and piety, requisite to give anything



like completeness to the record. Simplicity, both in purpose and in manner, is the quality which, beyond all others, it behooves the ecclesiastical historian to cultivate. A fair illustration of this matter may, perhaps, be derived from a reference to the characters of two of the most deservedly popular among modern writers of history; both, unhappily, slaves to that worst of superstitions, the delusion of unbelief, but both conspicuous for mastery in the collation and narration of events. Gibbon, perhaps the ablest of secular historians, and the most skilful in what has been called *la science des faits*, must, from the very texture of his mind, have failed, if he had, in the veriest honesty of intention, attempted to write the history of religion. He did, in part, essay the task; and his want of success was not more the effect of malignant hostility to Christianity, than of characteristic inaptitude for such a work. Unwearied in collection, acute and discriminating in examination, luminous in exposition, so long as mere facts were concerned, no sooner did he adventure on investigations that involved principles, motives, and the complexities of mental and spiritual character, than he gave ample evidence of inadequacy. His sarcastic temper, his affected and encumbered style, his antipathy to the simple and severe in composition, were direct disqualifications for a labour demanding in every particular, habits the most opposite. Gifted with nearly all the qualities in which Gibbon was deficient, Hume might have excelled as the historian of Christianity, but for his fatal tendency to prejudice and partiality. These infirmities were by no means confined to matters connected with religious faith: they tainted his political opinions and his philosophical speculations, and they must have been either inherent in his intellectual constitution, or strangely grafted on it by an erroneous education. Qualities such as these, whether primitive or secondary, would probably have made him the champion of a sect, rather than the fair and liberal annalist of the Church. But the clearness and fulness of his mind, the charm of his style, the ease of his narrative, and his conversance with mental science, must, had the right impulse been given, have made him, among ecclesiastical historians, *facile princeps*.

Next to the manipulation of the actual sources of Church history, we can think of no better nor more instructive authorities, than Tillemont and Mosheim. Yet, ample and comprehensive as such a course of reading may seem, the student would soon find himself at a loss for some work that should supply the discussion and concentration which are wanting to the valuable collections of the French writers, as well as give detail and enlargement to the dry anatomy and systematic views of the German. Such a work is presented to him in the volumes of Neander. Facts and circumstances are clearly, though briefly stated; but it is the way in which they are elucidated and reasoned out, that



gives its chief value to the book. As a narrative, the history is heavy and encumbered; but, as a lucid and impressive investigation of a most important subject, the volume is of high worth. In dealing with such a work, minute analysis is, of course, out of the question; and yet, it is scarcely possible to give a correct notion of its specific character in any other way. Nor is it easy to convey a correct impression of certain marked peculiarities in the Author's habits of thinking and writing, without a larger portion of extract and explanation than we feel it expedient to assign. We must therefore confine our critical luxuriancy within the limits of editorial discretion, and, without launching into expanded or protracted discussion, endeavour to give a general view of the distribution of the work, and to exhibit, on one or two leading points, a more distinct characterization of Neander's manner.

The Introductory division exhibits a philosophical view of the state of Heathenism and Judaism at the first appearance, and during the early stages of Christianity. It does not strike us that Neander has thrown new light on the questions involved in this inquiry; nor has he, in fact, gone very deep into the subject. Still, he has, in a small compass, brought together much important matter; and if he has but slightly touched the various and complicated considerations connected with the investigation, he has at least managed them, so far as he has gone, with learning and discretion. We rarely find Neander giving into that species of affectation, by far too common among the theological writers of his country, which leads ingenious theorists, like our own Warburton, to maintain paradoxical positions, apparently for the mere purpose of shewing how dexterously they can handle an intractable subject. Yet he does not appear to have altogether avoided this injurious practice. He seems, for instance, disposed to patronize the exceedingly suspicious character of Apollonius of Tyana; a person whom ecclesiastical historians in general have agreed to set down as an undeniable impostor. Yet, this man of branded memory is exhibited as one probably possessed of 'extraordinary gifts' and 'under the influence of the 'Divine Spirit,' although impairing the intrusted privilege by the indulgence of 'spiritual pride and vanity.'

'Those,' writes Neander, 'who, like Philostratus in the third century, have endeavoured to represent him as one of the heroes of the ancient popular religion, have injured him most deeply in the eyes of posterity. He went about to stir up and animate a spirit of religious faith, and furthered fanaticism, while he gave food to that curiosity which inquires after the things of the invisible world. He spoke against superstition, because it served to promote immorality, when men believed that they could buy impunity for crime by sacrifices; and he declared that, without a moral state of the heart and feelings, no sacrifice could be well pleasing to the gods. He exclaimed

against the cruel custom of shows of gladiators; for, when the Athenians, who were in the habit of exhibiting these shows, invited him to their assembly, he answered, that he could not enter a place stained with so much human blood, and that he wondered the goddess did not leave their city. When the president of the Eleusinian mysteries refused to initiate Apollonius of Tyana, it is difficult to determine whether the Hierophant was really in earnest, and thought Apollonius an enchanter who used forbidden arts, or whether he was not rather jealous of the great influence opposed to priestcraft, which Apollonius exercised on the people, and to such a degree, that many considered intercourse with him of far more consequence than initiation into the mysteries. The concluding formula of all the prayers of Apollonius, which he recommended also to others who would pray, although opposed to the notions of those who think the heart of the supplicant of no consequence in prayer, yet shews wherein was his greatest deficiency, a deficiency which might well prove to him the source of most of his self-delusions, I mean the prayer: "Give me, ye gods, that which I deserve"—δοῦντί μοι τὰ ὀφειλόμενα: the direct contrary to the prayer, "Forgive us our debts!"

Now we must confess that all this appears to us inexpressibly weak. On no subject whatever, connected with history, either sacred or profane, does there rest more complete uncertainty, than on the very existence of this Apollonius; and whoever may have read Leslie's preface to his "Short and easy Method with the Deists," will have small difficulty in coming to the same conclusion with that profound inquirer. 'Some very learned men,' he says, 'have, *not without reason*, doubted whether ever there 'was such a man.'\* Yet, concerning this individual, whose very personality is apocryphal, and the story of whose life is an unbroken series of absurdities and impostures, does Neander sustain the hypothesis, that he was a divinely inspired teacher of men. Happily, there is not enough of this waywardness in the volume before us, to impair its general excellence.

The first section of the "History" relates to the propagation of Christianity and the persecution of its disciples. This part of the work is ably executed, and supplies much elucidation of the various motives and pretexts which led to the fierce antipathy cherished by the Romans against the *religio nova, illicita*. In fact, had it been sought to invent a series of propositions which should most effectually do violence to the prejudices of men of all classes, nothing could have been devised which should have answered the purpose more directly, than the great truths of Christianity. Their profession was nothing less than the *crimen majestatis*, and they who avowed it were denounced as *irreligiosi in Cæsares, hostes Cæsarum, hostes populi Romani*. High

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\* See also Lardner's Works, Vol. VII. pp. 484—489; 508 *et seq.*

and low, the court, the priest, the army, and the rabble, all felt it a common cause. 'The Atheists' became the vulgar designation of the worshippers of the true God. The most odious crimes were imputed to them, and universally credited; slaves were admitted as their delators, and every public calamity was attributed to their impiety:—'*non pluit Deus, duc ad Christianos.*' All these circumstances are illustrated with great clearness, and the conduct of the successive emperors towards the rising sect, is analysed with much skill. But we have been most especially interested by the second section; and it is precisely here that we begin to enjoy the advantage, such as it is, of the Translator's annotations, in their most liberal distribution. Some of them furnish rather whimsical exhibitions of a polemic in distress, and provoke one strangely to offer a little friendly assistance in the way of comment; but we resist the temptation, and pass on to graver matter. Neander commences his view of the Apostolic institute, by affirming that

'The formation of the Christian Church, being derived from the peculiarities of Christianity, must essentially differ from that of all other religious unions. A class of priests who were to guide all other men, under an assumption of their incompetence in religious matters, whose business it was exclusively to provide for the satisfaction of the religious wants of the rest of mankind, and to form a link between them and God and godly things; such a class of priests could find no place in Christianity.'

The interests of the whole Church of God, as also the well-being of distinct communities, were committed by Christ and his apostles, not to a separate and privileged order, but to Christians as such; and to maintain and promote them, was 'the nearest duty of every individual Christian'. All were to act in their respective capacities, and according to their various gifts of instruction, or prophecy, or administration, but 'with equal honour, supplying one another's deficiencies'. None, save women, were prohibited from speaking in the church. '*Primum*', says Hilary, '*omnes docebant et omnes baptizabant, ut cresceret plebs et multiplicaretur, omnibus inter initia concessum est, et evangelizare et baptizare et Scripturas explorare.*' But, although all Christians are invested with 'the same priestly calling and the same priestly right', provision was made for regular government and administration. That government was not monarchical, vesting all power in one centre, and thus attenuating the great bond of union, the feeling of mutual dependence; but the administration of the churches was committed to a council of elders.

'These presbyters or bishops' (Neander has previously shewn that the names are convertible) 'had the superintendence over the whole church, the conduct of all its common affairs. But the office of teacher



was not exclusively assigned to them ; for, as we have above observed, all Christians had the right to pour out their hearts before their brethren in the assemblies of the church, and to speak for their edification. At the same time, it does not follow that all the members of the church were destined to the ordinary office of teaching. There is a great distinction between a regular capability of teaching, always under the control of him who possessed it, and an outpouring (like prophecy or the gift of tongues) proceeding from a sudden inspiration, and accompanied with a peculiar and elevated, but transient state of mind ; and the latter might very probably descend from above on all vital Christians in those first times of extraordinary excitement, when the divine life first entered into the limits of this earthly world.'

These illustrations are followed out at some length and with excellent discrimination ; but we must quit them for a different branch of the inquiry,—the deterioration of church-discipline in the times immediately succeeding the apostolic age. The change mainly affected three points.

' The difference between bishops and presbyters, and the development of the monarchico-episcopal government.

' The difference between spiritual persons and the laity, and the formation of a caste of priests, in contradiction to the evangelic notion of the Christian priesthood. And,

' The multiplication of Church officers.

' With regard to the first, we are without precise and perfect information as to the manner in which this change took place in individual cases ; but nevertheless it is a thing which analogy will make quite clear on a general view. It was natural that, as the presbyters formed a deliberative assembly, it should soon happen, that one among them obtained the pre-eminence. This might be so managed that a certain succession took place, according to which the presidency should change, and pass from one to the other. It is possible, that in many places such an arrangement took place ; and yet we find no historical trace of any thing of the kind ; but then, as we have above remarked, there is, on the other hand, no trace to be found, by which we should conclude that the office of the president of the college of presbyters was distinguished by any peculiar name. However it may appear with regard to this point, what we find in the second century leads us to conclude, that immediately after the apostolic age, the standing office of president of the presbyters must have been formed ; to whom, inasmuch as he had especially the oversight of every thing, was the name of *ἐπίσκοπος* given, and he was thereby distinguished from the rest of the presbyters. This name was then, at last, exclusively applied to this president, while the name of presbyter remained common to all : for the bishops, as the presiding presbyters, had as yet no other official character than that of presbyters ; they were only *primi inter pares*. This relation of the bishops to the presbyters, we see continuing even to the end of the second century. Irenæus, therefore, uses the name of 'bishop' and 'presbyter' sometimes as wholly synonymous, and at other times he distinguishes the bishop as the president of the pres-

byters. Even Tertullian calls the leaders of the Christian churches by the one general name of *seniores*, while he comprehends in that name both bishops and presbyters, although that father was very particular about the difference between bishops and presbyters. Indeed, in many respects, 'Tertullian stands at the line of demarcation between the old and the new time of the Christian Church.'

One effect of the persecutions was, to give further ascendancy to these presiding presbyters, who were generally chosen, it is probable, for their energy and decision of character, and thence not averse from the assumption of a power which might enable them to act with more efficiency in critical circumstances. Cyprian may be taken as the representative of this class. He is represented by Neander as having acted, without any premeditated plan, 'in the spirit of a whole party, and of a whole ecclesiastical disposition that existed in his time.'

'He acted as the representant of the episcopal system, the struggle of which against the presbyterian system had gained strength during the whole progress of the Church. The contention of the presbyterian parties among one another, might have become utterly prejudicial to discipline and order in the Church; the victory of the episcopal system especially promoted unity, order, and quiet in the Churches; but then, on the other hand, it was prejudicial to the free development of habits of life befitting the Church; and the formation of a priesthood, which is quite foreign to the Gospel economy, was not a little furthered by it. Thus, this change of the original form of the Christian Church stands in close connection with another change, which takes still deeper root; the formation of a caste of priests in the Christian Church. The more a Christian Church answered its proper destination, and corresponded to its true model, the more must it be shewn in the mutual relations of all its members, that all, taught, led, and filled, by the One, all, drawing from the same fountain, and mutually imparting, as equal members of the one body, stand in reciprocal relation to each other; and the less, therefore, can any difference exist among them, between some to give and others to receive, teachers and learners, guides and those who let themselves be guided,—as we find it was in the early churches.'

Our readers will be, by this time, in possession of the general spirit and character of Neander's work; and here we must take leave of the Author with the further remark, that the third Section, on 'Christian Life and Worship', is not less distinguished by learning, right feeling, and acute reasoning, than are the preceding portions of the volume. The second volume of the translation was to have been published in the course of the last year, but it has not yet come to our hands. We hope that no punctilios or misgivings have interfered with its due progress, since we are looking for the opportunity it will afford us, of touching upon two or three important points which we have now been obliged to pass by.

Art. II. 1. *The Dogmas of the Constitution.* Four Lectures, being the First, Tenth, Eleventh, and Thirteenth, of a Course on the Theory and Practice of the Constitution, delivered at King's College, London, in the Commencement Term of that Institution. By J. J. Park, Esq., Barrister-at-Law, the Professor of English Law and Jurisprudence. 8vo. pp. xxvi. 150. London, 1832.

2. *North American Review.* No. LXXIV. Jan. 1832. Art. *Reform in England.*

NOT quite a twelvemonth ago, we were led to undertake the somewhat arduous task of expounding Mr. Coleridge's views of the British Constitution *as an idea*;—‘an idea arising out of ‘the idea of a State’,—an archetypal idea, the ‘final criterion by which all particular frames of government must be tried’, but to which existing institutions and forms of polity can only approximate.\* We objected at the time against the learned Writer's phraseology, that, instead of terming this Idea the Constitution, it would have been more consonant with the proprieties of ordinary language, to designate it as the informing principle or genius of our constitutional forms. We remarked, that the British Constitution is not a mere *ens rationale*, but an historical entity, existing in the palpable shape of Institutional law, as a concrete, and therefore actual, not merely an abstract and final Idea. And ‘to this actual constitution belong’, we added, ‘what are regarded as things unconstitutional’; meaning, that the theory and the practice, the Idea and the fact, are in some respects at variance. But the actual constitution, however the ellipsis may be supplied,—whether it be the constitution of the monarchy itself, of the administrative government, of the legislature, or of the whole fabric of our institutions, laws, and prescriptive usages, (and it may have each variety of meaning,)—the actual constitution, we then considered, and still regard, as consisting of things as at present constituted; not as they were constituted fifty or a hundred and fifty years ago, not as they ought to be constituted, but as they are. Just as a man's constitution, whatever be his age, or whatever his state of health, is not what he brought with him into the world, but what he has made it or suffered it to become.

But this, we are aware, is not the technical import of the word as employed by writers upon the British Constitution; nor is it what is understood by those parties, on the one hand, who talk loudest of the dangers of the Constitution, or those, on the other, who clamour for its restoration. *They* mean so many different things, that it becomes difficult to fix any meaning upon the Pro-

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\* Eclectic for July 1831. Art. I.



tean word. Generally speaking, they mean by the Constitution, not what is, but what was, or what ought to be,—a theory, a legal fiction, an idol of the intellect, trifront, like Brahma, Vishnoo, and Seeva, heterogeneous, yet indissolubly one;—or more often, some attribute of the Constitution, some mere symbol of its power, something which is *of* the Constitution, but not, as is imagined, the Constitution itself. For instance, it has been asserted, that the King, Lords, and Commons compose the Constitution; whereas it would be much more correct to say that they administer it. Their respective prerogatives and privileges form a part of the British Constitution, and are both its securities and secured by it; but so do the rights of the people. Mr. Canning said on one occasion, that ‘the British Constitution is a limited ‘monarchy’. This was only another way of stating the truism, that the British monarchy is a limited monarchy: that is to say, into the constitution of our monarchy, there enter certain limitations. But the Constitution is not the monarchy, nor is the monarchy the Constitution: it is only modified by its limitations.

What, then, is the Constitution, and where is it to be found? ‘It should seem at first’, remarks honest George Dyer, ‘that ‘the question, What is the political constitution of a country? is ‘of all questions the most easy of solution; a constitution of principles, forms, and laws being the most prominent feature in its ‘policy. Yet, in governments, circumstances often arise, by ‘which the question is perplexed; and what ought to be visible ‘and clear, is thrown into the back-ground, or kept wholly out of ‘sight.’ ‘Principles, forms, and laws’ are, indeed, things not equally palpable and permanent. Forms may change while laws remain fixed; and again, forms are tenacious of life, long after the principles which constituted the original *reason* of such forms, and their animating spirit, have undergone transmutation. The venerable forms of the British Constitution are very nearly the same that they have been for ages; but the principles, the ‘actual conditions under which the powers of government are exercised’, have undergone, Professor Park maintains, so total a revolution, that the Constitution defined by Blackstone, and eulogised by De Lolme, has long been cancelled and consigned to the charge of History.

‘The propositive or theoretic constitution of Great Britain, (if it ever existed in a pure state, which is very doubtful,) has ceased to have any existence for upwards of a century and a half; has, for upwards of a century and a half, been superseded by a totally different machinery. But the fact has never been *publicly* recognised or recorded: the substituted constitution has never been formally reduced to proposition.’ p. 6.

This is sufficiently startling. But the learned Professor goes

further, and maintains, that, strictly speaking, we have no such thing as a Constitution at all.

‘There is some singularity’, he remarks, ‘in having to define and expound the constitution of a government which, among the more accurate writers upon governments and constitutions on the Continent, would certainly be classed among the non-constitutional governments, or representative governments without constitutions. . . . The British Constitution is not only without any code, charter, or fundamental law, in which its provisions or details may be collectively found; but those provisions, as indicated by usage and by precedent, or specified by enactment, are undistinguished by that “*specific character of stability*”, by which almost all the written constitutions of modern times have sought to distinguish fundamental or constitutional laws from ordinary laws; demanding for the alteration or modification of the former, a higher and greater solemnity than is required for the change or promulgation of the latter.’ pp. 14, 15.

Yet, there have been talented persons who would represent the British Constitution to be a defined system, all compact, fixed and immutable, based upon the principle of prescription. Thus, Burke, when opposing, in conjunction with Lord North, in 1784, that reform of the Representation which was advocated by both Pitt and Fox, began his speech with sarcastically remarking, that ‘the Constitution of England, which for a *series of ages* had ‘been the proud distinction of this country’, had been discovered to be, ‘in the most boasted part of it, a gross imposition.’\* Mr. Burke knew better; he knew that the Constitution had not existed for a series of ages, nor any thing like it; but he wished to employ the wisdom of our ancestors to screen the corruption of their descendants, and to veil what he himself could stigmatise on another occasion as the ‘shameful parts of the Constitution’. ‘The reason for the Crown as it is’, said the right honourable anti-reformer of that day, ‘for the Lords as they are, is my reason for the Commons as they are, the electors as they are. If ‘the Crown and the Lords and the Judicatures are all prescriptive, so is the House of Commons, of the very same origin, and ‘of no other. . . . Our constitution is a prescriptive constitution: it is a constitution whose sole authority is, that it has ‘existed time out of mind.’ Again, speaking of the constitution of the House of Commons, Mr. Burke said: ‘To ask whether ‘a thing *which has always been the same*, stands to its usual ‘principle, seems to me to be perfectly absurd; for how do you ‘know the principles, but from the construction? And if that ‘remains the same, the principles remain the same.’† But how

\* Burke’s Speeches, Vol. III. p. 43.

† Ibid. pp. 46–48.

could Mr. Burke venture to give as his 'reason for the Commons 'as they are', that either the Crown as it is, or the Lords as they are, had for ages remained the same? How could he venture to represent the monarchy prior to the Revolution, alike under the Tudors and the Stuarts, as the same, in principle and constitution, as the monarchy under the third sovereign of the House of Brunswick? If prescription be one principle of the Constitution, the antagonist principle is most assuredly another and not less essential element. For upon what is that constitution founded, but upon *concessions*? And what is the object of that constitution, but to perpetuate and to secure those concessions? Justly and forcibly Mr. Fox remarked, in a subsequent debate upon the same subject, that 'from the earliest periods of 'our Government, the *principle of innovation*, but which should 'more properly be called amendment, has been neither more nor 'less than *the practice of the Constitution*. In every species of 'Government, (he said,) putting absolute monarchy out of the 'question, democracy and aristocracy are always in a state of improvement, when experience comes to the aid of theory and speculation.\* Now, if the practice of the Constitution be innovation, and if (as Professor Park has shewn) such innovation has completely changed the very character of the Government,—investing the Crown with new prerogatives in compensation for those it has surrendered, mingling an elective peerage, the creature of the minister, with the hereditary legislature, and substituting a balance of parties within the House of Commons for the old system of three independent estates,—if all this be fact, then, to represent prescription as the basis, the sole authority, the conservative principle of the Constitution, or of any part of it, is to practise a gross delusion upon the understanding, and to set truth, and history, and common sense at defiance.

Professor Park is neither a reformer nor an anti-reformer, neither Whig nor Tory. He professes to belong—and we believe his assurance—to no existing school of politics, but to one of which we shall be most happy to enter ourselves as disciples as soon as it shall be instituted; 'the nascent school of *inductive politics* or observational political science.' 'His business he 'represents to himself to be, not to reject or to idolize the wisdom of our ancestors, but to stand upon their shoulders, and 'try how much further he can see.' He has fears and misgivings, in which we do not participate, but which we can respectfully appreciate, as to the possible effects of the pending reform in our representation; but he waives the discussion for this reason among others, that he would 'probably have no common language

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\* Fox's Speeches, Vol. III. p. 150.



‘with either the opposers or the maintainers of the Reform bill.’ The leaning of his opinions is evidently *against* the measure; but we must frankly declare, that the perusal of his lectures has served to deepen our conviction of its constitutional character and necessity. That necessity is two-fold, political and moral. Were the political necessity less apparent than it is to our judgment, could we even anticipate political danger as the result, the moral reasons for the reform contemplated, would, in our opinion, be paramount and irrefragable. Professor Park contends, that the Constitution has been wholly changed; that the real or practical constitution and the non-existent theoretic one are at utter variance; that this fact has been industriously concealed from the people; that there has been ‘a common conspiracy to sanctify and keep on foot an utter delusion, by all the machinery of language, of forms, and even of positive laws.’ Nay he goes so far as to assert, that the Constitution has attained whatever it possesses of practical excellence, by ‘a total departure from that theory of action’ to which it has been ‘dotingly attributed.’ This is bold language: its propriety we shall consider hereafter. We wish now to connect with it the following significant admission.

‘Gentlemen, before we part, I would beg to say, that you would wholly mistake me, if you suppose, from any thing I have propounded, that I underrate or think lightly of *the moral corruption and iniquity* by which *the transmutation of the constitution* I have pointed out, *has been partly accomplished*. I think, on the contrary, that it is one of the most appalling considerations with which political studies make us acquainted.’ p. 59.

Now we feel bound to concede, that many beneficial measures have been partly accomplished by moral corruption and iniquity. These had their share in bringing about the Revolution; nay, the Reformation itself. And it forms no sufficient reason, therefore, for rejecting a boon, that it has been procured for us by dirty hands. We say nothing, then, of the moral corruption and iniquity by which this transmutation of our constitution has been effected, and for which the dangerous plea of state necessity, and that of self-defence on the part of the Prerogative, might be urged in extenuation. We say nothing of the means by which this change has been accomplished. Unhappily, however, Moral Corruption and Iniquity, after having aided in bringing about this revolution, have not been dismissed the service of the Constitution, but have been retained as its salaried, and liveried, and domineering guardians and officers. And this moral corruption, which was at one time subordinate to the Prerogative, and in some measure served as a substitute for the surrendered powers of the Crown, has at length attained so gigantic a magnitude as to

constitute a distinct, alien, and independent power, beyond the control of its original master, and holding king, lords, and commons in check by its single force. This Moral Corruption is that illegitimate, unconstitutional *fourth* estate, which it is now sought to abate and reduce ; in order that the other three legitimate elements of the Constitution may resume their proper and natural influence, and that the working of the system may be relieved from its present friction and embarrassment. In fact, the existing constitution may be said to be based, not upon prescription, but upon corruption ; and what political edifice can be secure, which has its foundations in immorality and fraud ? The new constitution of things which the Reform of the representation will give us, will have for its basis, *the laws*, the source and sanction of all legitimate rights. And no better proof needs be given of the anti-constitutional character of the existing system and practice, than this ; that it not only is opposed to the letter of extant statutes and to the spirit of our institutions, but could not by possibility be made to take the shape of law. The fact dares not assume the palpable vehicle of language.

We cannot, then, but regard nearly all that has been said, in and out of parliament, about the Reform bill's being either a violation or a restoration of the British Constitution, its euthanasia or its anastasis, as mere words, words, words. As an *argumentum ad hominem*, indeed, the reply to those anti-reformers who stigmatise the measure as unconstitutional, revolutionary, a violent innovation, is fair and valid ; namely, that it accords with the recognised theory of the constitution, be that theory right or wrong ; that it is conformable to the most venerable precedents, in harmony with prescriptive usage, and strictly accordant with the genius of our institutions. Professor Park represents this as 'the ground triumphantly and forcibly taken by the advocates of the 'Reform-bill.' But he regards it nevertheless as ground from which they might have been driven, had their opponents understood how to deal with the argument, by shewing that the theoretic constitution is fallacious, obsolete, and impracticable. But how could the anti-reformers, while taking their stand upon prescription, admit that the old constitution of England had been abandoned ? We must contend, that an appeal to the traditional constitution is a forcible and triumphant answer to the vague charge of innovation upon prescriptive usage. Grant, that the theory of our constitution is untrue, that the modern practice has tacitly substituted another constitution, working by a totally different machinery, and what then becomes of the clamour against revolutionary innovation ? We have seen the grounds upon which, fifty years ago, the most eloquent declaimer against Parliamentary Reform rested his opposition. Mr. Burke denied, that the constitution was degenerate, that it had suffered



either change or decay. He regarded with filial reverence, its venerable age; and 'never,' he said, 'will I cut it in pieces, and put it into the kettle of any magician, in order to boil it, with the puddle of their compounds, into youth and vigour.' Yet, it now appears that, by some such process, the object of this fervent veneration had even then been rejuvenilized. But, by a happy fiction, the constitution is, like the king, immortal, maintaining its perpetuity by succession, and, through many a death, preserving its continuous life.

It is not, however, for the sake of restoring the practice of the constitution to a theoretic perfection, that the advocates of parliamentary reform have for fifty years contended for the necessity of some such measure of practical amendment. Mr. Pitt was no theorist; yet, even after his accession to the premiership, he acknowledged that a reform of the representation was a measure most desirable, one which he trusted he should live to see realised\*; and in April 1785, the minister actually moved for leave to bring in a bill to amend the representation, although he suffered himself to be defeated. Mr. Fox was no theorist; and the practical grounds upon which he advocated the measure, were worthy alike of the statesman and the patriot. The existing system he deprecated, because it is 'as outrageous to morality, as it is pernicious to just government. It gives,' he said, 'a scandal to our character, which not merely degrades the House of Commons in the eyes of the people: it does more; it undermines the very principles of integrity in their hearts, and gives a fashion to dishonesty and imposture . . . . *The system that encourages so much vice, ought to be put an end to.*'† Nay, Mr. Burke himself, at an earlier period, in supporting Sir George Savile's motion for a bill to secure the rights of electors, (Feb. 7th, 1771,) uses the following remarkable language: '*That the people should not choose their own representatives, is a saying that shakes the constitution . . . .* What bounds shall be set to the freedom of that choice? Their right is prior to ours: we all originate there. They are the mortal enemies of the House of Commons, who would persuade them to think and act as if they were a self-originated magistracy independent of the people, and unconnected with their opinions and feelings. Under a pretence of exalting the dignity, they undermine the very foundations of this House. When the question is asked *here*, what disturbs the people, whence all this clamour, we apply to the Treasury bench, and they tell us, it is from the efforts of libellers and the wickedness of the people; a worn-out ministerial pretence. If, abroad, the people are deceived by popu-

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\* Debate of June 16th, 1784.

† Fox's Speeches, Vol. VI. p. 358.



‘lar, within we are deceived by ministerial, cant. The question ‘amounts to this, whether you mean to be a legal tribunal, or an ‘arbitrary and despotic assembly.’ After remarking that, since the Revolution, the power of the nation had ‘all flowed with a ‘full tide into the House of Commons,’ Mr. Burke proceeds to say, that, as it had become the most powerful, so was it the most corruptible part of the whole constitution. ‘Our public wounds,’ he continues, ‘cannot be concealed: to be cured, they must be ‘laid open. The public does think we are a corrupt body. In ‘our legislative capacity, we are, in most instances, esteemed a ‘very wise body. In our judicial, we have no credit, no character ‘at all. Our judgements stink in the nostrils of the people. ‘They think us to be not only without virtue, but without shame. ‘Therefore, the greatness of our power, and the great and just ‘opinion of our corruptibility and our corruption, render it necessary to fix some bound, to plant some landmark, which we ‘are never to exceed.’ Again: ‘I know not the origin of the ‘House of Commons, but am very sure it did not create itself; ‘the electors were prior to the elected; whose rights originated ‘either from the people at large, or from some other form of legislature, which never could intend for the chosen, a power of ‘superseding the choosers.’\* Such was then the language of this highly gifted, but most inconsistent, and always violent man, who, fourteen years after, could declare, that if but sixteen members were added to the House of Commons, nay, ‘if any alteration ‘was made, he should consider it as the death and burial of the ‘Constitution; and it was indifferent to him, whether it was buried in linen or woollen, whether it had sixteen or sixty more ‘pall-bearers.’† What would he have said, had he lived to see a hundred Irish members added to the British legislature?

We do not cite Mr. Burke as a constitutional authority. His speeches, like the works of the fathers, would furnish authority for any thing,—for opinions the most contradictory; but his testimony is important, and his most violent sallies are instructive. The point, however, which we were insisting upon, is, that the true reasons for parliamentary reform, those urged by its earliest and most distinguished advocates, are not theoretical, but practical;—that the appeal to the theoretic constitution, which Professor Park considers as so fallacious, has only been incidental to the argument, being employed as a counter-plea to the cry of prescriptive right;—that no such visionary idea is attributable to the Reformers, as that of annihilating the influence of the Crown or of the Peerage in the House of Commons, and of reverting to the old system of government, a thing strictly and absolutely im-

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\* Burke’s Speeches, Vol. I. pp. 73—75.

† *Ib.* Vol. III. p. 89.

possible. Whatever may be Mr. Cobbett's plan of reform, nothing of the kind is to be found in the present Bill. We have heard of no proposal to exclude placemen and official persons from the House, nor any sentiment advanced, that implies a wish to destroy a 'moderate preponderance of the influence of the Crown.' The argument urged by the anti-reformers, that it might be found difficult, under the new arrangement of the representation, to secure a seat for a person accepting office, was met by observing upon the utter improbability of such a case, and by admitting, that for such a case, if it could occur, it would be desirable to provide a specific remedy. So far are the reformers of the present day from running into the extreme of an ultra-constitutional jealousy of the power of the Crown. A Mr. Campbell, it seems, in addressing 'the populace of Monmouth,' thought proper to tell them, 'that the measure was not revolutionary, but a restoration of the old Constitution of England.' In the first part of the statement, he was unquestionably right; in the second part, he was so far right, that the measure may be said to be restorative, *rather* than revolutionary; and unquestionably, although it will not restore the old Constitution, which is neither practicable nor desirable, it will restore to the people a just portion of that constitutional share in the representation of which they have been defrauded by 'moral corruption and iniquity.'

The true reasons for the reform bill, we say, are tangible, practical, and notorious; but there has been, on both sides, a reserve in coming to the point. Can that be an ideal, an imaginary grievance, which confessedly constitutes the protection of every abuse, the great obstacle in the way of every other reform. Why does Lord Wynford oppose reform? We thank him for telling us. He fears it will lead to the abolition of slavery. It will weaken, not the power of the Crown, but the West India interest! It will strengthen the hands of the evangelical party and the Dissenters. Admirable reasons, worthy of the man and of the consistent course that has lifted this political judge into the peerage. It will render the future government of the country impossible, says Duke Wellington: he means impossible to the Tory oligarchy, and we trust his Grace will not prove mistaken. It will, in other words, destroy the enormous influence of an uncontrollable oligarchy, the bane and burden of the country.

'It is true,' says Professor Park, (in the only page of his work which we could have wished to cancel,) 'that the existing system may sometimes, in return for the aid which it yields the Government, *subject* that Government to the opinions, interests, or prejudices of the owners of boroughs upon particular subjects: yet, the change which is proposed, does not, as is alleged, emancipate the Government from such subjection, but only transfers the exercise of it, in greatly in-

creased power, to a portion of the community far less educated and informed, and whose opinions may be as much mistaken, or as mischievous in their actual results, as those of the proprietors of boroughs.' p. 149.

Now the truth here stated in the mildest terms, is a reason that, in our judgement, ought to outweigh, more especially when enforced by the moral considerations already adverted to, every speculative and hypothetical objection founded upon apprehended consequences. To Professor Park's legal science and constitutional learning, we are ready to pay all that deference to which he is justly entitled; but we must take the liberty to consider his assertion as quite unreasonable, that the Government will not be emancipated from subjection, when that power which subjects and fetters it, shall be deprived of its ascendancy;—that when the dead weight is removed, the springs of action will recover none of their elasticity. We must differ from him also, when he maintains, that the power now exercised by the owners of boroughs, will be *transferred* by the proposed change to any other class; whereas it will be fairly divided among the three constituent classes; we mean, the additional representatives of the landed aristocracy, the democratic members, and those who, in virtue of their office, represent the Crown. But we differ, above all, from the learned Professor, in that part of the above statement which expresses his apprehensions, that this change will transfer power or influence to 'a portion of the community less educated and informed' than the greater part of the proprietors of boroughs, or their nominees. Without going the length of Mr. Douglas, who thinks that 'we can lose little, either in regard to sense or to religion, by *any change* in the House of Commons,' we expect, with entire confidence, that one result of the reform will be, to bring into the House better educated, better informed, and better principled men, than a large proportion of those whom the present abominable system has collected there. We have not the slightest misgiving as to the qualifications of the members whom the great towns will choose as their representatives. Cobbett will stand no better chance of being returned, than he did when he was rejected by Coventry, and when Lord Thanet might have nominated him for one of his boroughs. Birmingham may choose Mr. Attwood, as we hope it will. Preston will scarcely again return the prince of blacking-makers. But as to Manchester, Leeds, Sheffield, and the other large seats of manufacturing and commercial industry, we have not the least doubt that they will return quite as many aristocrats (and perhaps sons of peers) as radicals.

Nor ought the important change in the machinery of election to be overlooked. Among the grievances set forth by the Society for promoting Parliamentary Reform, who styled themselves the Friends of the People, in 1793, this was one: 'That the



‘manner in which elections are conducted, is disgraceful to the name of free election. That it is inconvenient to the elector, and ruinous to the candidate. That it is a scourge to the honest and peaceable, and a harvest to the dissolute and corrupt.’ If the new system of conducting elections will not entirely obviate this ground of complaint, it cannot fail at least to diminish the expense, the chicanery, the tyranny, and the corruption attending elections; and by doing so, it will confer an unspeakable benefit upon the country.

When there are such solid and urgent reasons for a measure of right and justice, it does not become honest men, nor is it indicative of peculiar wisdom or strength of mind, to be over solicitous about remote and contingent results. Every man’s anticipations will partake of his temperament, and be shaped by either his wishes or his fears. An amusing instance of this is afforded by our brother Reviewers on the other side of the Atlantic, who have put forth an article upon ‘Reform in England,’ which has very much the character that one would expect to find in a paper written by a sly anti-reformer of the old Tory breed, assuming the mask of an American republican, for the purpose of gaining more attention in this country to his absurd predictions. We do not seriously imagine that Mr. Croker is the writer, or that he has procured it to be written; but it is precisely such an article as any friend of his beyond seas must have deemed peculiarly acceptable to the *soi-disant* conservative party here; and we can account for its general spirit and its bold assertions, only by supposing that, if not dictated by any insidious design, it has been written under the influence of too great reverence for Tory statesmen and Tory authorities \*. However this may be, the fact is, that the sinister and lugubrious vaticinations of our alarmists are, in this article, with scarcely any change of the mode or the notes of the composition, but simply of the time, converted into the language of generous hope and gracious plaudit on the part of our American well-wishers: just as the Highlanders’ dead march be-

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\* That the same Journal which, in one Number, offers the incense of adulation to Lord Brougham, should in another bepraise and do the civil to Mr. Croker, must be regarded as only an example of the same *impartiality* which is evinced by the insertion of two opposite articles (said to be both by the same Writer), for and against the removal of the Indians,—by articles for and against the National Bank, and by other curious instances. In general, however, the way in which the Tory party in this country, and the Tory journals are referred to, seems to indicate that our Tories are regarded as the *Carolínians* of England, while our Radicals seem to be, in America, the object of utter aversion.

comes transformed by a quickened movement into a spirited war-song. This is so cleverly managed, the irony is so well concealed, that the Reviewer's prognostics will probably be read by our Radicals as compliments, by our Tories as sagacious and honest anticipations, by all true friends to 'reform in England' as sarcasms of the bitterest kind.

That the Writer must either have been grossly misled by the information upon which he has relied, or have had some motives for malicious misrepresentation, is sufficiently apparent. How can we otherwise account for his asserting, that the present Whig ministry 'must, from the constitution of English society, be opposed by a great proportion of the men of high education and literary influence in the country;' that 'the vehemence with which the reform bill has been assailed, has not been matched with corresponding ardour;' that 'the reformers in England appear somewhat tired of the project;' that 'the ministers would not lament to have it defeated,' as 'they probably begin to believe that their project will prove a great revolution;' and that, 'in the practical operation of the bill, it will probably be found, that not one of the evils of which the people most complain will be remedied, whilst the bill itself stops far short of its own principles.' These stale and exploded fallacies and aspersions, which recent events only render the more ridiculous, not the more untrue, could scarcely have been adopted by an American writer actuated by friendly feelings to the present Government of England. We should not have expected, indeed, to find in the *North American Review*, a paper breathing so much more of the *southern* party spirit;—to find ourselves, for instance, threatened in this article with the loss of our West India colonies, in the event of the abolition of slavery. 'The slavery question,' says the Writer, 'is all in all to them' (the West India colonies). 'If decided against them, they will revolt.' We have before us extracts from the West India papers, 'which leave no doubt on this question.' Does the Jamaica Watchman never find its way to Boston?

The Reform-bill, it is said, 'stops far short of its own principles.' Were this correct, it might still be a good bill. The American constitution is, at least for the United States, a good constitution; but, if it did not stop short of its own principles, it would not allow of every sixth man being a slave, and of a market for slaves existing in the metropolis of liberty, where even free-born blacks, if unable to produce a passport, are liable to be sold as oxen for transportation to a distant state. We grieve to admit, that the British constitution also stops short of its own principles, in permitting slavery to exist under the British Government; and we hope to live to see its principles carried out

to their full extent. But it is no new thing, nor does it form a valid objection against any good thing, that it stops short of the full development of its own principles.

But what, according to this American Reviewer, are the principles upon which the Reform-bill proceeds, and of which it stops short? The following passage affords, we presume, the explanation of the assertion.

‘ Suppose it passed. A great change has then taken place in the British Constitution. We will not insist on the word *revolution*, if it is thought necessary to limit that term to unconstitutional changes of Government accompanied by violence and blood.’ [Here we might suppose we were reading the concession of an English anti-reformer, who, content with insinuating the charge of revolutionary and unconstitutional proceedings, will not ‘insist upon the word.’] ‘ But a great change has taken place. This change is *the abandonment of prescription, as the principle on which the British House of Commons is constituted*. It is not denied, that small encroachments have from time to time before been made on this principle. It is only by such encroachments and concessions that a great principle can ever be preserved in a perpetuated application. But it is now avowed, that the House of Commons shall no longer be constituted upon this principle. The Reform Bill comes to this; for it assumes a *minimum* of certain required theoretical qualifications, and prescribes that all seats not possessed of these qualifications shall be vacated. The old seats which remain untouched (besides the innovations applied to them in the matter of suffrage) remain so, not in virtue of the prescription, but in virtue of possessing the new theoretical qualifications. It will therefore be borne in mind, (what we have not seen distinctly stated,) that the proposed reform extends to every individual seat in the House of Commons; for, in addition to the boroughs wholly or partially disfranchised, and the seats now for the first time given to counties or cities, every other seat is shifted from the basis of prescription to that of qualification. . . . The question now taken has been, whether the House of Commons, the *old* House resting on prescription, should continue in office; and it has been decided in the negative. The people have decided, that a new House on new principles shall be created.’—*North American Review*, lxxiv. pp. 29—31.

This paragraph supplies intrinsic evidence that the article is written by an American; for no Englishman would have talked of the continuance *in office* of a House of Commons, or spoken of ‘the *qualifications of seats* in parliament’! At the same time, no determined opponent of any reform in our representation could have set himself with more apparent good-will to find out some ingenious reason *against* the measure. As the objection has been hinted at in this country, although not pushed to so absurd a length, and it may be considered, indeed, as sanctioned by the language already cited from Burke, we deem it worth while to



occupy for a short time the attention of our readers in examining its force.

The statement resolves itself into two positions: first, that the principle upon which the British House of Commons is constituted, is, prescription; and secondly, that that principle has been abandoned for the new principle of qualification. Both positions we meet with a direct negative.

To represent any institution as founded upon the principle of prescription, seems to us to approach to a contradiction in terms. At the foundation of an institution, the principle in question, which includes the idea of duration, could not have come into operation. How then can that be the constituent principle of an institution, which can only attach to it as a circumstance of its history? How can its having existed be the reason why it came into existence? The meaning of the Writer's position must be, that prescription has come to be the foundation of the House of Commons;—that, in the revolution of ages, it has been moved off of its ancient foundations, and now hangs together only by the principle of prescription. It may be as well, to look back and see what was the original principle upon which our House of Commons was constituted.

That principle, we have already remarked, was not prescription, but, CONCESSION. We should not, perhaps, be going too far, were we to affirm, that all law partakes, originally and essentially, of this character. Law, in its very nature, is a substitute for arbitrary rule, and as such, a concession from power. Instead of being, as is often represented, a restraint upon natural liberty, it is rather the barrier and bulwark of liberty,—the landmark which divides the territory of acquired rights from the domain of lawless prerogative, where might is the only acknowledged right. Law is the form in which freedom lays up her acquisitions; the record to which she entrusts her most glorious achievements; the title-deed of her possessions. It is true, that other things besides concessions, that assumptions and usurpations acquire, by time, a conventional validity; but these are the exceptions to the rule. Such wrongs are allowed to acquire, by prescription, the privileged character of rights, because it is felt that prescription is, in the main, a conservative principle, and that it would be a greater evil to disturb the rule without a clear necessity. That the laws were primarily intended to be a protection of the weak against the strong, will scarcely be denied, notwithstanding that there are such things as game laws, which arm the strong against the weak, and other laws which insult liberty instead of protecting it. To be under the protection of the laws, and to be restrained only by the laws, to have the full benefit of *frank-law* in both respects, is, in fact, the very definition of civil freedom, and that which

distinguishes a freeman from a slave. Now, putting aside the consideration of natural rights, (rights, the reality of which it is as absurd to deny as it is difficult to define them,) these civil rights have always, in fact, originated in concessions. Every species of franchise is presumed to be originally derived from the Crown; and that which is held by prescription, presupposes a grant. The elective franchise was clearly of this description; and nothing is more certain, than that the House of Commons was founded upon those concessions which were won by and for liberty from the Prerogative. Its gradual formation has been traced with admirable distinctness and historical learning by Sir James Mackintosh, in his History of England; and we shall avail ourselves of his account in an abridged form, as amply attesting the correctness of our position.

‘It is beyond all doubt, that, by the constitution, even as  
‘subsisting under the early Normans, the Great Council shared  
‘the legislative power with the King, as clearly as the parliament  
‘have since done. But these great councils do not seem to have  
‘contained members of popular choice; and the king, who was  
‘supported by the revenue of his demesnes, and by dues from his  
‘military tenants, does not appear at first to have imposed, by  
‘legislative authority, general taxes to provide for the good  
‘government of the community. These were abstract notions,  
‘not prevalent in ages when the monarch was a lord paramount,  
‘rather than a supreme magistrate.’ . . . It was by a gradual  
transition, that ‘the national assembly passed from an aristocratical  
‘legislature, representing, perhaps not inadequately, the opinions  
‘of all who could have exercised political rights, if they had  
‘then possessed them; through the stage of a great council, of  
‘which the popular portion consisted of all tenants in chief who  
‘had the power and the desire to attend such meetings; and at  
‘last terminated in a parliament, of which members chosen by the  
‘lesser nobility, by the landholders, and by the industrious  
‘inhabitants of towns, were a component part.’ To the parliament  
summoned by Simon de Montfort, ‘of which the lower house was  
‘composed, as-it has ever since been formed, of knights of the  
‘shires and members for cities and boroughs,’—to this ‘happy  
‘innovation,’ the author of which was but the unknowing ‘in-  
‘strument of disclosing to the world that *great institution of re-  
‘presentation* which was to introduce into popular governments  
‘a regularity and order far more perfect, than had heretofore been  
‘purchased by submission to absolute power,’—Sir James Mack-  
intosh ascribes the present constitution of the House of Commons.  
‘Hence arose the necessity under which the succeeding king,  
‘with all his policy and energy, found himself, of adopting this  
‘precedent from a hated usurper. It would have been vain to  
‘have legally strengthened parliament against the Crown, unless

‘ it had been actually strengthened by widening its foundations, by rendering it a bond of union between orders of men jealous of each other, and by multiplying its points of contact with the people, the sole allies from whom succour could be hoped. The introduction of knights, citizens, and burgesses into the legislature, by its continuance in circumstances so apparently inauspicious, shewed how exactly it suited the necessities and demands of society at that moment. No sooner had events thrown forward the measure, than its fitness to the state of the community became apparent. The enlargement of the basis of the legislature thus stood the test which discriminates visionary projects from necessary repair and prudent reformation.’ \*

Such, then, was the origin of the present constitution of parliament. It was an enlargement of the basis of the legislature, demanded by the existing circumstances of society, and conceded by the Crown, as an act at once of grace and of policy. The principle upon which the House of Commons is founded, is *concession*, confirmed by prescription. But to whom was the concession made? To the freeholders of the shires, and to the towns which had been exempted by royal charters from baronial tyranny. The knights and burgesses which represented them, were unquestionably delegates. These delegates, it must be admitted, were not originally appointed to assist in the government of the country, so much as to protect the interests of their constituents. Yet, it was soon found convenient by the monarch to enlarge the powers of parliament, in order that it might share with the Crown the odium of harsh measures, and aid in introducing ‘ innovations too daring to be hazarded by the single arm of a wary tyrant. The compliance of parliaments,’ remarks Sir James Mackintosh, ‘ perhaps as much as their independence, multiplied precedents favourable to their right of interposition in all public affairs.’ † But the right afterwards justified by precedents and prescription, was still founded on concessions,—concessions which, from their very nature, were innovations. So true is the remark of Fox, already cited, that, ‘ from the earliest

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\* History of England, Vol. I. pp. 238—240; 245, 6. The Author thinks it not improbable, that De Montfort, ‘ amid the noise and confusion of popular complaint, had learned the art of deciphering its own wayward language, and of discriminating the clamour of a moment from demands rooted in the nature and circumstances of society.’ A fine remark, of obvious application to the greatest statesman of the present day, and the proper justification of his conduct in making the reform-bill the leading measure of his administration.

† Hist. of England, Vol. I. p. 266.



‘periods of our government, the principle of innovation was ‘neither more nor less than the practice of the constitution.’

But was the right thus conceded, of sharing in the government, a property, or a trust? Most assuredly, to use the words of the distinguished statesman just cited, ‘the right of governing is ‘not a property, but a trust; and whatever has been given for ‘constitutional purposes, should be resumed, when those purposes ‘can no longer be carried into effect.’\* For the Crown to resume that which it has once granted, would indeed be an act ungraceful and invidious, and having the appearance of encroachment upon the rights of the people. But for the Parliament itself, in whom the general trust is reposed, to make any change in the securities for a faithful discharge of that trust, and in the number of trustees, that the altered circumstances of society render expedient, and, with the consent of the Crown, to make the best use, by transfer, of its original concessions, for the constitutional purposes for which they were intended,—is an act perfectly reasonable, just, and constitutional,—beneficial to the community at large, and injurious to none but the venal and dishonest who have abused their trust.

But the question now meets us, Does such proceeding involve the abandonment of the principle of prescription, which, though not the fundamental principle of the constitution, we will admit to be, in a sense, the safeguard of the privileges won by the spirit of freedom or conceded by policy? This brings us to the second position of the American Reviewer, who asserts, that that principle has been in fact abandoned for a new principle, that of qualification.

If the principle of prescription has been abandoned, it must either be intentionally and avowedly, by a formal repudiation of it for ever, or, as the necessary, though disavowed consequence of some act or argument on the part of those who are supposed to have abandoned it. Now nothing could be more directly the reverse of fact, than the affirmation, that there has been an avowed abandonment of the principle of prescription on the part of either the pro-reform or the anti-reform members of the Legislature. All that has been contended for by the former, is, that there are occasions upon which, for the general good, that principle must be made to bend to higher principles of enlightened policy and justice. A distinction too, and a very proper one, has been laid down between a prescriptive *right* and a prescriptive *trust*,—between the prescription which secures the possession of property,

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\* Fox’s Speeches, Vol. III. p. 151. Such was the argument by which Mr. Fox opposed Mr. Pitt’s plan of compensation, as alike unjust and repugnant to the true spirit of the Constitution.

and that which sanctions the retention of a prerogative entrusted to parties for a public object. Even when there has been no wilful abuse of trust, if the original conditions have not been fulfilled, if the trust has fallen into too few hands, and is evidently in danger of alienation from its legitimate design, a sufficient case is thought to be made out for the interposition of a remedial and paramount administration. So far from professedly abandoning prescription, however, the framers of the Reform Bill have evinced a studious anxiety to conform as much as possible to constitutional precedents; and have deprecated the idea that they wished to interfere with the franchise of any borough that possessed the means of adequate security against its corrupt abuse. The decayed boroughs have been treated, not as criminals who had forfeited their rights, but as parties incompetent to exercise them, through notorious political incapacity. Old Sarum has been declared, not a felon, but of unsound mind, superannuated and imbecile. There has been nothing like an approximation in these proceedings, to the Rule of Three Representation principle; the population returns having been used simply as one criterion of the fact to be ascertained, viz. the competency or incompetency of the borough to exercise the elective franchise on the principle of representation, as opposed to nomination. Property, not persons, has been recognised as the true basis of representation; and the qualification for the franchise in the new distribution, is the same as that which determined the original grant,—the consequence of the place to which the concession is made. The object sought for, too, has been precisely similar to that which Sir James Mackintosh points out as the design, or at least the effect, of the original institution of representation; namely, by widening the foundations of parliament, to ‘render it a bond of union between orders of men jealous of each other, and to multiply its ‘points of contact with the people.’

If there has been any abandonment of the historical for the geographical principle, of prescription for the Rule of Three, it must be understood of a virtual abandonment, in spite of the declared intentions and principles of the authors and advocates of this reform, and as a fated, inevitable result. How this can be shewn to be the case, we know not. It is admitted by the Reviewer, that small encroachments have from time to time been made upon this principle. That was no *small* encroachment, however, which let in a hundred Irish members into the British Parliament; and if ever the principle of prescription has been virtually abandoned, it was abandoned by Mr. Pitt. Or will it be said, that it is by *disfranchisement* only, that the principle of prescription is violated? Then we would ask, whether prescriptive rights may not be forfeited or lost, without affecting the general validity of the principle. That the elective franchise may

be forfeited by a clear case of corruption, involving the electors generally, is admitted on all hands ; and Grampound, not long ago, was made to yield up its prescriptive right as a punishment of its detected delinquencies. And if a dozen Grampounds had been disfranchised upon evidence of similar criminality, it would not have been deemed any violation, we presume, of the prescriptive principle, inasmuch as a legal reason would have been made out for the proceeding. If, then, a valid and sufficient reason can be given for departing from a general principle on a particular occasion, that principle can scarcely be considered as violated : it is, at all events, not abandoned. But it has been taken for granted, that the only valid reason for disfranchising a borough, must be such as would justify the measure as one of penal justice. We deny this. We maintain that, in proceeding upon this ground, there is palpable injustice ; that the electors are really punished less for being corrupt, than for being poor, while the true criminal escapes. So long as boroughs are bought and sold, what a mockery of justice is it to punish poor men for selling their votes !

The only sound reason for disfranchisement is the constitutional one ; that the constituent elements of the franchise have become lost ; that the thing to be represented no longer exists ; that the principle of representation has become merged in that of nomination ; and that the place has thus been already virtually disfranchised, the trust having fallen into improper hands. We must think that the decay of a borough is a far stronger reason in equity for disfranchising it, than the conduct of the electors, who, if the prescriptive right absolutely and irreversibly attached to the place, should not be punished otherwise than personally, and the disqualification ought not, therefore, to extend to the next generation. Penal disfranchisement is, in fact, little better than a judicial farce, and as such it has been regarded by the people. To punish Grampound or East Retford for abusing its privilege, and to let the house called Old Sarum send its two representatives to parliament, is as unreasonable and unjust a proceeding as can be imagined. When every condition upon which a charter or other trust is held, has been disregarded, or can no longer be fulfilled, although there may have been no wilful abuse, or criminality of any kind, the prescriptive right terminates, and the grant reverts to the Crown. Such is the doctrine of both law and equity ; and upon this ground, the writ might long ago have been constitutionally withheld from Old Sarum, its title having become literally extinct. It was like summoning a dead man, who had left no heirs, on the presumption that he must be alive, because he had not been judicially put to death.

The elective franchise was originally conceded to boroughs *qualified* to exercise it, and for certain constitutional purposes.



Qualification, not prescription, then, was the original tenure. The qualification having become lost, of which the decay of the place in wealth and population is the undeniable sign and evidence, and the constitutional purpose being no longer answered by the exercise of the franchise, the tenure is vitiated, the trust lapses, the prescriptive right falls to the ground. Nor is there involved, in the formal decision of the legislature that such a place shall no longer return members, any greater abandonment of the principle of prescription, than there is in any interposition of the Court of Chancery in the matter of a private trust.

The assertion, that any old principle, unknown to the Constitution, has been abandoned, and a new principle introduced, by the great measure now approaching (as we trust) its consummation, is founded upon mere ignorance or delusion. It is not true, that every, or that any seat has been shifted from the basis of prescription to that of qualification; but the principle of nomination, which was itself an encroachment upon prescription, has been made to give way before an extension or restoration of the constitutional principle of representation. The sense of the people has been ascertained with regard to this specific measure, as one of practical reform and concession, which has for its object to restore their confidence in the House of Commons, as the organ of the national sentiment, and the guardian of the national rights. They have not been asked to canvass the supposed principle of the Bill, but to signify their acquiescence in the Bill itself. But, if the popular voice may be supposed to have sanctioned the principle also, then we have the sense of the people deliberately and authentically expressed *against* the principle of universal suffrage, or 'equal geographical representation', and *against* any other change in the organization of the House of Commons, any further disturbance of the prescriptive principle, than that which circumstances have rendered imperatively necessary, in order to restore the House of Commons to its constitutional efficiency. By the acceptance of this Bill of concession and reform, the strongest national pledge will have been given in support of the existing constitution.

Having thus shewn that the premise of the American Reviewer is altogether fallacious, we need not take up the time of our readers, by exposing the nugatory character of his speculations as to 'the natural and inevitable consequences' of this imaginary revolution. We can assure him that he knows little of the people of England, if he imagines that they will easily be brought to prefer to the 'Gothic complication of burgesses and knights', the mock-Grecian simplicity of the Congressional system. The more we know of that system, the less highly we think of its adaptation

to any country but America, and the more suspicious we feel of its entire availableness there. The shallow theory of universal representation, with its collateral principles of popular delegation and government by a majority, (frequently the most odious species of tyranny,) has begun to be viewed with distrust by their own jurists\*; nor is the working of the Congressional machine by any means so free from friction, and so regular and effective in its movements, as its admirers would have us believe. In the Appendix to Professor Park's Lectures, will be found extracts from an article on 'Instructions to Representatives', inserted in the American Jurist, which indicate that the ultra-democratic notions maintained on this point, are found to be as little compatible with the effective administration of public affairs under a republican government, as with the constitution of a limited monarchy. 'To admit such a right in the constituents', the Writer remarks, 'would, as it seems to us, at once subvert all the advantages of our present system of government, and render nugatory all the checks and balances provided by the Constitution.' In our own country, the recognition of the *right to petition*, clearly proves, in our opinion, that the Constitution knows of no such thing as a general right to bind representatives by the instructions of their constituents. A house of instructed and pledged representatives, moreover, loses the character of a deliberative assembly. Mr. Fox, in adverting to this question, confessed, that he leaned to the opinion, that representatives, 'having to legislate for the empire, ought not altogether to be guided by instructions that may be dictated by local interests.'† Not that it follows from this, that they are at liberty to treat with contempt the opinions of their constituents; still less to disregard their interests, of which, if not of their opinions, they ought to be the representatives. Upon all ordinary occasions, the terms upon which a member of parliament should stand with his constituents, are those of confidence on their part in his competency and integrity, and on his, a conscientious attention to their political and local interests. 'The voters', remarks the American Jurist, 'can judge of the integrity and capacity of their representatives, though they cannot of many questions which must come before the legislative

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\* See Eclectic Review for January, 1832, pp. 30—32.

† Yet, as Mr. Fox proceeded to remark, (Speeches, Vol. VI. p. 364,) if a member represents a noble lord or a noble duke, then it is held no longer doubtful, whether he is to be guided by the dictates of his own conscience, or by *instructions*: 'he is not considered a man of honour who does not implicitly obey the orders of his *single constituent*.' The instructed representatives of our House of Commons are the members for nomination boroughs.

‘assembly.’ As proceeding from an American writer, the following sentiments are particularly deserving of attentive consideration.

“The truth is, that neither the expressed will, nor the known wishes of constituents, to whatever respect they may be entitled, but the public welfare, ought to be the guide of the representative’s conduct. Indeed, the position, that the bodies of voters who elect representatives, and that the legislatures of the (several) States, constitute portions of the legislative power of the United States, (as they must if their instructions to senators and representatives are binding,) seems to us such an obvious absurdity, that no argument can make it appear to us more unreasonable than the mere statement of the proposition. We find it difficult to conceive how any person, considering the question coolly and dispassionately, can come to any other conclusion, than that the right of giving binding instructions to representatives is not given expressly by the constitution, and that it is not a consequence of the relation between the representative and his constituents; but, on the contrary, that the provisions of the constitution, and the nature of the office of a representative as a member of the national legislature, distinctly negative such a right; and further, that it is inexpedient that constituents should have such a right, as, in most cases, it would be impossible for them to exercise it at all, and in those in which it would be possible, it could not be exercised with either advantage or safety.” *Park*, p. 143.

What then, we may be asked, do we say to the pledges exacted by the people from their Representatives, and the instructions given to them, at the last general election? Our answer is, that when an appeal is made to the sense of the people by a dissolution of Parliament, whether consequent upon a change of administration, (which generally implies and involves a general change of policy,) or upon some collision of sentiment between the two branches of the Legislature, or between one of them and the Crown,—in any of these cases, the people are called upon to mark by their choice of representatives the national will; and, on such extraordinary occasions, are bound to require of those who offer themselves to their choice, an explicit declaration of their sentiments and pledge of conduct in relation to the state of affairs, or the subject of difference. To use the words of Coleridge, ‘in the Constitution of England, the nation has delegated its power not without measure or circumscription, whether in respect of the duration of the trust, or of the particular interests intrusted.’\* And when this trust reverts to their hands, to be granted afresh, they may constitutionally make such terms with their representatives as their own interests and security demand, the very right to elect implying this; which is wholly different from a general right to instruct

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\* See *Eclectic Review*, July 1831, p. 8.



a representative. Upon that reserved point alone, his discretion is limited by honour and duty. Such appears to us to be at once the theory and the practice of the Constitution. The appeal to the constituent power residing in the aggregate of the electors, is an acknowledgement, that the national will *expressed in act*, is the ultimate political sanction; and that, although under ordinary circumstances dormant, the reserved power inherent in the nation is never alienated or delegated to Parliament itself.

We had intended to submit a few observations upon the probable effects of the reform in the representation, as regards the future administration of government; but this is a point upon which we must not now enter. Professor Park complains, that the present Government have never stated, 'how far they intend the return to the original constitution of the country to be followed out in the correlative parts.' We see nothing that indicates any return to the theoretic constitution, except in the conduct of the Tory portion of the House of Lords, who, after having fought the battle of self-interest against the nation in the Commons' House, have sought to avail themselves of their power as a distinct estate, to oppose the theoretic check of the old constitution to a practical measure of reform. Nothing could tend to degrade the House of Peers in general estimation, so much as the violent, reckless, factious, interested conduct of the anti-reform leaders, who have shewn that their hatred of the Bill was far less strong than their appetite for place and power.

It is feared, however, by some persons for whose judgement and superior attainments we have an unfeigned deference, that the influence of the Crown will, by the restoration of the representative principle, be so far deprived of its salutary preponderance in the House of Commons, as to render any steady system of government impracticable. In apology for entertaining a different opinion, or rather for cherishing a different expectation, we beg leave to remark, that neither history nor experience warrants the apprehension, and that for contingent evils there will probably be found contingent remedies. We have almost been led, indeed, to adopt it as an axiom, deduced from the strange turns of affairs for the past twenty years, that what is expected never takes place. Premising this, we may perhaps venture to disclose our own expectations, which nevertheless are theoretically checked by the overruling persuasion that the precise contrary is very possible. We expect, then, as the result of passing the Reform Bill, that we shall continue to have, at least for some years to come, a popular ministry, during which the influence of the Crown must of course maintain its preponderance. We expect an executive government stronger by reason of the withdrawal of the oligarchical counter-force. We expect, that, in the new House of Commons, there will be a larger number of

members *directly* connected with the Aristocracy, partly consisting of the new county members, partly of men of family and substantial wealth chosen by the larger towns. We expect that fewer adventurers of desperate fortune will disgrace the legislature; and that, in consequence of the diminished expense attending elections, gentlemen who have shrunk from ruining their estates and beggaring their children for the honour of a contested seat, will consent to be put in nomination by their friends and neighbours. We expect a more religious House of Commons. We expect what Lord Wynford forebodes,—the abolition of slavery; what Lord Henley recommends,—a reform of the Church; what Europe hopes for,—a continuance of peace; what England needs,—an honest, statesman-like revision of the various branches of our domestic administration. We expect that the people, feeling confidence in the integrity of the Government, in the patriotism of their sovereign, and in the *bonâ fide* character of the representation, will exhibit more patience and subordination under any evils that may yet continue to press upon them, and any hardships not proceeding from wrongs. We expect all this, if the Reform Bill be but received by the nation in a right spirit, (the spirit pointed out by Mr. Douglas in his admirable pamphlet on ‘the Prospects of Britain,’) as ‘knowing that every blessing, ‘if not held as coming from God, will in the end prove a calamity.’ Our trust is not in men, nor in measures, but in Him who works by both, and overrules both for the welfare of those whom he designs to save and deigns to bless.

Professor Park must pardon us, that we have, in the present instance, made his volume serve our own purpose, rather than done justice to him. We freely acknowledge that we have been greatly indebted to it for the illustration and modification of our own notions: when he has not convinced us, he has set us to thinking. The historical information and sound constitutional views which his Lectures comprise, render them highly instructive and valuable, not simply to professional, but to general readers, to whom we strongly recommend their perusal. Popular without being superficial, scientific without being technical, original, yet not theoretical or paradoxical, they are excellently adapted to recommend and promote the cultivation of a science which exists at present only in its rudiments. When to this we add, that the Law Professor of King’s College is a conservative, yet no Tory, a reformer, yet no liberal, a lawyer yet no partizan, we shall have described qualifications not often found united, but which are peculiarly requisite to form the character of a scientific politician.

Art. III. 1. *Researches in Greece and the Levant.* By the Rev. John Hartley, M.A. late Missionary in the Mediterranean. Cr. 8vo. pp. 388. Price 6s. London, 1831.

2. *History of the Seven Churches of Asia ; their Rise, Progress, and Decline ; with Notices of the Churches of Tralles, Magnesia, Colosse, Hierapolis, Lyons, and Vienne ; designed to show the Fulfilment of Scripture Prophecy.* By the Rev. T. Milner, A.M. 8vo. pp. 388. Price 12s. London, 1832.

**M**R. Hartley's interesting volume, though it appears to have been published last year, has but just fallen into our hands. Of great part of its contents, communicated to the public through the *Missionary Register*, we were already in possession ; but we gladly avail ourselves of the occasion, to recal the attention of our readers to the state and prospects of the mother country of European civilization, that portion of Europe which first received the light that has lightened us Gentiles.

Little that is new, and nothing that is decisive, as regards the political condition of Greece, can be communicated. A private letter from Corfu (of the date of March 27th) thus adverts to the unsettled state of the country. 'With regard to unhappy Greece, all is anarchy and confusion there ; and I see no prospect of melioration from the appointment of a school-boy king, who will necessarily be a tool of Russia, through a minister of that country, or of one deeply in its interests. From what I know of the people, I do not think there exists a boy of seventeen capable of administering the affairs of a Greek village, much less of a nation composed of fierce barbarians and subtle, designing, emancipated slaves ; then, again, subdivided into Continental, Moreote, and Island Greeks, all entertaining different views and interests, even allowing them to be capable of public virtue, with unprincipled and factious leaders, the remembrance of recent feuds, and selfishness acting in a thousand treacherous and insidious ways. From Marshal Soult, I should expect something. From King Otho, child's play.'

Of Capo d'Istrias, we had been led, by what appeared to us trustworthy authority \*, to form a higher opinion than some who are nearer the scene of action have thought altogether warranted. Now, however, that death has set its seal upon his character, we are not disposed to retract our favourable estimate of his motives and general policy, although we do not feel qualified to pronounce upon the merits of his administration. He is described, in an article upon Greece in the last *North American Review*, as 'a person whose individual and private character is pure, his manners simple, his mode of life frugal, his industry unwearied,

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\* See *Eclectic Review*, 3d Series, Vol. VI. p. 46.



‘and, on his first arrival in Greece, he was highly popular.’ The decline of his popularity, it is added, may be ascribed to the difficulties of his situation, the distress of the country, and the previously existing factions, ‘as much as to his own arbitrary disposition.’ We are not unwilling to believe this. At the same time, having lost his popularity, and not possessing the confidence, or, at least, not enjoying the support of the allied powers, he does not appear to have possessed those rare and high qualities that would have enabled him to contend alone, and with success, against the difficulties of his situation.

It is much to be regretted that the absurd scheme should have been entertained, of erecting a Greek kingdom, than which a Greek republic only could be a more visionary project. Kingdoms are made by conquest, and supported by power, as republics are created and maintained by commercial wealth. Kingdoms are made by the consolidation of provinces, and the subjection of feudatories: republics, by the expansion or federation of municipalities. Greece, without cities, more feudal than commercial, without wealth enough to support a government, with none of the elements of political power, long enslaved, yet never governed, peopled by tribes, not a nation, and tribes as incapable of union, as, collectively, of independence,—can never, in its present moral and political condition, compose a state, much less sustain a monarchy. It can be nothing more than a burdensome dependency upon some foreign power. This seems to be now pretty clearly understood. Yet, one would imagine, from the endless negotiations about this duchy of Athens, this miniature territory, that the balance of Europe would be disturbed by its being consigned to this or to that Power, and that the reign of anarchy must be perpetuated there, rather than either Russia, France, or Great Britain should acquire the vast possession. Truly, Great Britain does not want Greece, for this reason among others, that it would cost more money to govern it, than its revenue would furnish. For the same reason, possibly, Russia is the less anxious to obtain direct possession of the Morea, which she could retain only by sufferance, and reach only by the Dardanelles, or from the Baltic by the Straits of Gibraltar. France has at present the firmest footing in Greece, for she has succeeded in planting her language there; and we deeply regret it, not from any national jealousy, but on account of the moral results. The following statement (which we copy from the *North American Review*) is taken from a paper in the *Missionary Herald*, furnished by Rufus Anderson, one of the Secretaries of the American Board of Missions, who in 1829 visited the Morea and the Greek Islands on a special mission of observation.

‘The French nation is, at this time, exerting a considerable influence in modifying the systems of education in Greece; and that

country seems to be destined to exert a still greater influence. This is owing, in part, to the interest which the French nation has taken in the affairs of Greece. French troops liberated the Peloponnesus from the Egyptian army, which was covering it with desolation. A French scientific corps lately explored the antiquities, the geography, and the resources of the country; and Frenchmen being among the Greeks in great numbers, and always ready to impart their knowledge and render assistance, the effect, in the forming period of the national institutions, could not fail to be great. This influence is increased, and will be continued, by the fact, that a knowledge of the French language is regarded by the Greeks as an essential part of a liberal education. This opens a channel from the fountain of French literature into Greece; *and the Greeks are in danger of being flooded with French infidelity.* French books will be more likely to be translated by Greeks, than any others. French school-books are believed to be the only ones of which the Greek Government has ordered translations to be made. The "Manual of Mutual Instruction," which the Government of Greece has made the exclusive rule of Lancasterian schools, is a French work by Sarisin; and the Greeks plead the example of the French, in suspending a picture of the Saviour in the schools for the adoration of the pupils. . . . The determination of the Greek Government to introduce pictures and idolatrous prayers into all the Lancasterian schools patronized from its treasury, is much to be deplored. One is ready to attribute this, not to the free choice of the enlightened Head of the Government (Capo d'Istrias), but to the force of circumstances, which may have given the priesthood an undue influence in the councils of state. . . . Yet, with every allowance, probably nothing has been more injurious to the reputation of the Greek Government, than this engrafting of idolatry upon the system of national instruction, and making it binding by law upon every teacher of every Lancasterian school. Being not less at variance with the principles of freedom, than it is with those of religion, its speedy abrogation may with some reason be anticipated.'

We regret to say that this pernicious policy has found apologists among the Protestants of England and of America. Mr. Waddington, our readers may recollect, thinks, that 'pictural representation' may be made as useful as oral exhortation, and that the vulgar ought not to be allowed to discover too soon 'the gross corruptions of their religion.' And the North American Reviewers, while admitting that the prayer to the Virgin Mary, (in which occur the words, 'All my hope is in thee,') is '*objectionable*,' and that pictures of saints *may be* abused as objects of idolatry, dismiss the subject with the flippant remark, that 'men as well as things must be taken as we find them,' and the 'call of the schoolmaster is not identical with that of the missionary.'\* The Protestant teacher who goes to Greece to dispense the means of education, under the sanction and with the co-operation of the

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\* North American Review, lxxiv. p. 5.

Government, must therefore, it is contended, 'tolerate that Government in such adherence to the prevailing faith of the 'country;' that is, tolerate its intolerance, and wink at idolatry. We trust that such liberal notions as these will never receive the countenance of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. With Mr. Anderson, we would rather hope for the speedy abrogation of the intolerant edict.

The French language has long contended with the Italian for the ascendancy in the Levant, the one being the language of commerce, the other of diplomacy; but we had hoped that by this time an acquaintance with the English language, the genius of which much more closely resembles that of the Greek, would have come to be regarded as not less essential an accomplishment than a knowledge of either;—that our sovereignty in the Mediterranean would have been followed by a wide diffusion of that language which seems to be identified with the spread of the religion of the Bible. We must confess that we are far more solicitous for the spread of the English language, the symbol and vehicle of our moral power, than for the extension or perpetuity of our political empire. What the Arabic is to Mohammedism, what the Latin and the modern languages derived from it are to Popery, those of the Teutonic family, and chief among them, though latest born, the language of Milton and Taylor, Chillingworth and Barrow, Newton and Locke, Bunyan and Watts, are to Reformed Christianity. By its progress, we may almost trace the spread of Christian civilization over the face of the globe. Its forced substitution for any native language in any part of the British dominions, would be an act of impolicy as well as of oppression and injustice; but it seems not unreasonable to expect, that it should obtain the preference and ascendancy over languages equally foreign to the country in which our power has become naturalized. With high satisfaction we have heard, that it is to be allowed at last to supersede the Persian in the courts of British India. It is not long that Dutch law and Dutch pleadings have been in like manner superseded by English in the Cape Colony. Eventually, we should hope that the Venetian will be expelled from the islands of the Ionian Sea, which are as properly Greek as those of the Egean, and that the cultivation of the Greek itself will keep pace with the diffusion of the English.

It is, we repeat, on the ground of moral considerations only, that we regret the policy which our Government has pursued with respect to Greece, and 'the alienation of England' (as we find it characterized by Mr. Anderson) from the country lately under the rule of Capo d'Istrias. Into the causes of that alienation, we do not now inquire: the blame may rest upon the Greeks themselves. At the same time, we cannot but feel it as a reproach upon the British character, that the French, and even the Americans, should have discovered a more lively and active sym-



pathy in the fortunes and interests of the Greek nation, than either the politicians or the religious public of our own country. Since the exposures connected with the Greek loan, since the abandonment of Greece by our philosophical codifiers, Stock exchange philhellenists, and liberal regenerators, followed by the rejection of the proffered crown by Leopold, the interest excited by the Greek Revolution has seemed wholly to have subsided. The eager interest of the republicans of the United States in the affairs of the rising State, has also declined from the moment that it was decided to give to Greece *a king*. To our Missionaries, not to our politicians, Greece must look for the consummation of her freedom.

While, however, Great Britain retains the sovereignty of Ionian Greece, it cannot be a matter of indifference to her, what European power shall acquire a dominant influence in the Morea and Continental Greece. It matters little, indeed, to whom they nominally belong, or what puppet is set up as the pageant king of a territory, the real capital of which is Corfu, and the chief emporium Malta. But it does concern us more intimately than any other nation, except the Greeks themselves, what language is spreading and taking root in their soil, what literature is becoming naturalized, what moral influence is shaping the rising mind of Greece. The apparent indifference of our statesmen on this point, is not creditable to their political sagacity, if it be real. While it became our Government not to manifest any anxiety to acquire the sovereignty of the territory rescued from Turkish domination, which would be of comparatively little use to us, it is the part which philanthropy and policy unite to recommend, to take every means of strengthening the moral relations between the Greeks and the English nation, and of encouraging them to look to the Protector of the Ionian Isles as their benefactor.

Our true policy will now be, to promote as much as possible the cultivation of the modern Greek, as the language of education. By this means alone the Frankish dialects can be displaced, and Greece be as it were re-peopled with Greeks. We rejoice to find that the press at Malta has for a long time been very active in furnishing school-books to Greece, as well as tracts and other small publications in Modern Greek. An edition of 15,000 copies of the *Alphabetarion*, a Greek spelling-book, has been printed at Andover, in Massachusetts, and forwarded to the American Missionaries in Greece. Hitherto, the absurd mode of teaching children to read by means of obsolete languages, has been universal in the Levant. 'The Greek child,' we are told, 'has been condemned to labour upon the ancient Greek, the Armenian upon ancient Armenian, the Turk upon Arabic, the Jew upon Hebrew.'

‘The natural effect has been,’ continues Mr. Hartley, ‘to render the acquisition of knowledge odious and difficult, and to leave by far the larger portion of the Levantine population, for ages, in a state of semi-barbarism. Nor was any suavity of manner employed, on the part of the schoolmaster, to obviate the difficulties which absurdity of system presented. The law of coercion is applied, in Turkey, to all ages and to all circumstances. The instrument for inflicting the punishment of the bastinado, which by the Greeks is named *φάλαγγας*, and which is often seen in the court-yard of the Turkish Pashas, was an appendage of Greek schools. Whenever an offence was perpetrated, the little delinquent was thrown upon his back, his legs were elevated upon the bar of punishment, and blows of considerable force applied to the soles of his feet. I once happened to enter the large school of the Armenians, at Smyrna, when one of the boys was just arriving at the very crisis of punishment. The master was raising his arm; and probably, in another second, infliction would have ensued. My unexpected entrance disconcerted the whole project. The rod of punishment instantly fell; the poor boy escaped from his perilous situation; and the master appeared perfectly ashamed of the position in which I found him.

‘It is a surprising fact, that, under circumstances so discouraging, a large portion, even of the lower orders, were competent to read. I have heard it estimated, that no less than two-thirds of the population of liberated Greece had attained the art; and, without vouching for the accuracy of such a statement, I can assert, that, wherever I have met with Greeks, I have always found a considerable number who could read the books which were presented to them.

‘One of the earliest effects of the Revolution has been, a very promising reformation of the mode of public instruction. The thirst for knowledge which existed during my visit to Greece, was extraordinary. The ear was perpetually saluted by the word *προκοπή*, which they employ to signify *educational improvement*; and, to express myself in the language of a friend, “there was quite a fever for education”. The absurdity of the old system, which had been pursued, for the most part, by the priests, was universally acknowledged, and became a frequent topic of sarcasm and amusement. The system of Mutual Instruction, which has been so successfully employed in this country by Bell and Lancaster, was welcomed with delight; and, as soon as introduced, appeared to have admirable success. A very interesting school of this description was set on foot at Tripolitza, in a Turkish mosque, during the period which intervened between the capture of that city by the Greeks and its re-capture by Ibrahim Pasha. In Syra, in the year 1827, I found several small schools on this system, which appeared to proceed very usefully; and at Napoli di Romania, a very flourishing one existed.

‘The Greek Government has uniformly patronised this method of public education. They have been solicitous to establish public free schools of this nature, in all directions; and I understood that it was their intention to leave no town, village, or hamlet, in the whole of their territory, without these means of acquiring elemental knowledge.

Should these designs be realized, the entire population of Greece will, as a whole, be placed in a state of mental cultivation which few other countries possess. It may be true of Greece, before it is true of Great Britain, that "every poor child within its confines can read the Word of God". pp. 154—7.

The Author adverts to the 'machinations of foes' as having so far prevailed in some instances, that picture-worship has been introduced among the school regulations, in avowed opposition to the plans of the Church Missionary and other Protestant agents. What effect the accession of a Catholic prince to the sovereignty of a country where a bitter mutual animosity still inflames the members of the Latin and Greek Churches, it is not easy to determine. This, however, is certain, that it is not by upholding superstition, and by opposing intolerant restrictions to the progress of education and Christian instruction, that any Government will maintain its authority there.

Mr. Hartley declares, that he never found any difficulty in convincing the Greeks of the impropriety of worshipping saints and pictures, when he had previously adopted a conciliatory line of conduct. The Septuagint Version, which is in common use among them, and the language of their own 'Divine Chrysostom,' afford the ready means of completely silencing them, when attempting to palliate the practice. The following statements are most encouraging.

'I consider it correct to say, that there has been no opposition to Scriptural circulation; for, after an acquaintance with a large number of the Greek ecclesiastics of all ranks, I cannot recollect one who expressed any doubts of the legality or propriety of giving the Scriptures to the laity. It was reported, in the year 1828, that the Bishop of Paros had manifested a degree of opposition; but, as little more was heard on the subject, we may conclude that his disapprobation of our proceedings was of transient and trifling moment. The Bishop of Talaria, under whose episcopal charge Athens has of late been placed, used to exhort his people, at church, to study the Scriptures; and, I believe, other instances of the same character might be cited. The sanction of the Archbishop of Smyrna to the introduction of the Scriptures amongst his people, I witnessed in the following manner. At a public examination of the principal school of the Greeks in Smyrna, in the year 1828, the prizes distributed amongst the boys who distinguished themselves by their proficiency, were copies of the New Testament, sent from England. More than seventy of these were presented. The archbishop was present, with all the pomp which distinguishes the prelates of the Oriental Communion; and each boy, as soon as he had received the premium, instantly proceeded, with the volume in both his hands, and knelt before his throne, and received his episcopal blessing. It was gratifying to observe the chaplain and several other officers of his majesty's ship *Isis* present on that occasion.

'The introduction of the Scriptures into the Greek Church has also



generally met with cordial support on the part of the laity. I do not recollect to have met with a single Greek who ever opposed the measure; and though I have heard reports of a few persons who ventured to express disapprobation, results have shewn that those expressions were of no force whatsoever. The best method of demonstrating how welcome the gift of the vernacular Scriptures has been to the Christians of the East, is, to present a calculation of the number of copies, in whole or in part, which have been purchased in any given time, at a particular place. Let us ask, then, what number of volumes have been purchased at Smyrna, during the four years prior to my departure for England? It may perhaps, in some degree, increase our estimate of the success obtained, and also instruct us in the degree of advancement which missionary labours may be making—whilst even our own countrymen, on the field of exertion, may be very partially acquainted with that progress—if I mention the fact, that conversing, not long after my return to England, with an individual who had spent a considerable portion of that period in Smyrna, I ventured to propose the question above mentioned. The answer was, that perhaps 200 volumes annually might have been disposed of, but probably not so many. I replied, 11,000 copies of the Scriptures, in whole or in part, have been disposed of in Smyrna, during the last four years; and, with the exception of 500 distributed gratuitously, all were actually purchased. The number of copies sold at Constantinople, during the same period of time, amounted to 21,000. When we call to mind that the Scriptures have now been on sale in those countries for many years, and that the pressing demands might in some degree have abated—and when we add to this fact, a recollection of the poverty and other calamities in connexion with the Greek Revolution, and other causes, which have oppressed the inhabitants of those countries of late years—I cannot but think that it is truly surprising to find the number of volumes disposed of so great. By a letter from Mr. Benjamin Barker, the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, of so late a date as July 20th, I find that, in the course of four months of the year 1830, no less than 900 volumes had been sold in Smyrna, and 1498 at Constantinople.

On the territory of liberated Greece, equal encouragement has been given. In September 1827, I arrived, for the first time, in the island of Syra. I had the happiness to find Mr. Brewer, an American missionary, arrived simultaneously. We had with us a considerable number of New Testaments—as far as I can recollect, about 2000. On landing, it naturally became a question, whether these volumes were to pay Custom-house duty. The resolution entered upon by the officers of Customs deserves to be recorded, as another instance, amongst so many, of the willingness of the Greeks to promote the circulation of the sacred writings. Though the slightest accession to their revenue, at a time when their very existence as a free nation was at stake, might have appeared of vital importance, they nobly determined to exact no pecuniary advantage whatever from the introduction of these volumes into their country. Nor am I aware of any occasion, either at Syra or in other parts of Greece, when any tax has been laid on the Word of God.

‘ During my stay at Ægina, towards the close of 1827, and in the beginning of 1828, I sold, with great facility, 385 copies of the Scriptures; and I doubt not that I might have disposed of a much larger number of the Diglots, could I have obtained them. It was to me quite amusing, to observe the eagerness with which they were purchased. I used to give about twelve to an Athenian lad whom I had with me, and to send him every morning with them to the places of public resort. In a very short space of time he would return, bringing me the price of the volumes. I then gave him twelve others; and he soon returned, bringing the price of these also. In this manner, all were soon sold. There appeared to be so strong a disposition to read the New Testament, that a respectable Greek expressed to me his surprise at the circumstance. “I cannot enter a house”, he said, “without finding the New Testament in it”.’

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‘ The introduction of the Scriptures into schools, may be considered as another important step towards the diffusion of religious knowledge in the East. This measure can scarcely be said to have been fully sanctioned till the visit of Mr. Barker to Greece in the spring of 1829: but his success in introducing the Scriptures into the large school of Ægina has given it the apparent approval of Government . . . To attain the highest point of Scriptural circulation, it only remains that the Word of God should be read in churches in the vernacular language.

‘ The present circulation of the Scriptures amongst the Greeks is more interesting when viewed in connexion with other circumstances. The Greeks have so great a reverence for the Inspired Records, that they often cite them, both in public and private. Men of piety in our own country are ever ready to hail with peculiar delight any acknowledgment of Divine favour, or any suitable quotation of the Sacred Writings, in public documents. The opening clause of Lord Nelson’s despatch, announcing the celebrated victory of the Nile, was, for this reason, much admired:—“Almighty God has granted to His Majesty’s fleet under my command, a complete victory.” The Greeks are, in this respect, worthy of our imitation. Not only have I remarked, when amongst them, a disposition to ascribe national prosperity to the intervention of Divine Providence; but such facts as the following are of frequent occurrence. The official intelligence which announced the signal victory gained by their fleet off Capo d’Oro commenced with these words: *Who is a God like unto our God?* The first proclamation of Capo d’Istria, issued soon after his arrival, had the following words for a motto: *If God be for us, who shall be against us?* One of the principal public orators in Greece is Tricupi, a gentleman alike estimable for his public and private virtues. The speech which he delivered at Missolonghi, upon the death of Lord Byron, has often been quoted. I believe that the major part of his oration, if not all, has been founded on some passage of the Bible. Discoursing upon the death of Karaïskakes, his subject was the lamentation of David over Saul and Jonathan. I heard him deliver his speech upon the Victory of Navarino; and then, also, his leading remarks were wholly con-

nected with a Scriptural subject. This circumstance will appear the more pleasing, when it is remembered that Tricupi is not an ecclesiastic. He has filled several important offices in the government of Liberated Greece; and on the arrival of Capo d'Istria, he was nominated Secretary of State.

'It is also extremely common to hear Scriptural expressions quoted in private. I have often been astonished at the accuracy with which the Ancient Greek of the New Testament and of the Septuagint has been rehearsed, even when it is very imperfectly understood. I once met with a poor Greek, servant in a family at Smyrna, who repeated long passages from the Epistles of St. Paul, quite beyond his comprehension, much more accurately than I could have repeated them myself from the English Version.

'The subjects just treated give an exhilarating view of the Greek Church. The Orientalists, in Turkey at least, have laid hold of the inestimable prize of God's Word with so tenacious a hand, that it may justly be questioned if any violence, external or internal, shall be able to wrest it from them. Though in some other respects there may be a melancholy conformity with the Church of Rome, here there is a most glorious distinction. The Greeks are not guilty of the enormous crime of impeding the communication of Divine mercy to a lost world.'

pp. 130—142.

Mr. Hartley was even permitted, during his stay at Egina in the winter of 1827, 8, to preach in the church of the Panagia as often as he thought proper, and subsequently in various other churches. 'Indeed,' he says, 'under the peculiar circumstances of the times, I question if any church in liberated Greece would have been refused me.' On these occasions, he generally had a large number of the senators to hear him. He was also invited to preach in Hydra, during the time of their regular service, precisely as any *hierokeryx* (ἱεροκήρυξ) of their own would have done: and what is still more remarkable, the very monks of the far-famed monastery of Megaspelaion in the Morea, invited him to preach in their own church. Mr. Hartley doubts whether similar access to their pulpits would at all times be conceded; but the fair inference is, that, when uncontrolled by any superior power, civil or ecclesiastical, and allowed to act according to the dictates of their own feelings, the Greeks would not be unwilling to hear from the lips of a foreigner and a Protestant, the truths which Paul once preached at Athens and Corinth, at Philippi and Ephesus.

'I observed in general,' says Mr. H., 'that the Greeks are an extremely liberal people. Notwithstanding the exceptions to the contrary, I uniformly found a number of persons who would join me most readily in devotional exercises, and who would listen, with apparent interest, to my religious instructions. A kind and conciliatory address never failed to win its way. At first, I erred in my mode of operations. I went out under the influence of the idea, that sound argument would soon convince of error. And hence, I used to proceed, almost on first



acquaintance, to confute the errors of the Greek Church. I soon, however, discovered, that to confute a man is not to convert him; and that to silence him is not to gain him. Generally speaking, the individual thus treated refers his defeat, not to the weakness of his cause, but to his own want of acquaintance with it; and the victory which has been gained over him, more especially if it be in public, exasperates his feelings, and renders him tenfold more hostile to Truth than ever.

‘Discovering my mistake, I proceeded, for the future, upon a different plan. I considered that my first object, with every person, was to secure, as much as possible, his friendly feelings. Hence, my first topics of conversation were such, as would interest him most. Kolo-kotroni, Sultan Mahmoud, the events of the Revolution,—these were subjects on which he delighted to converse, and I gave him all the information I could concerning them. This method conciliated regard; suspicion and reserve died away; and, often, cordial friendship succeeded. Nor was this by any means a long and tedious process. I usually found, that after a very few days’ intercourse, on this system, there was no point of Greek Faith, however sacred, which I might not approach with a conviction, Now I shall be heard without prejudice. In fact, in a multitude of instances, commencing in this manner, I have, at no great interval of time, arrived at that very *intimum penetrale* of Greek superstition,—the perpetual virginity of Mary. Whenever a Greek has been brought to consider this as a point of no great importance, we may be certain that there is no prejudice whatsoever which he will not surrender.’ pp. 194—6.

From these extracts it will be seen, how widely Mr. Hartley’s estimate of the Greek character differs from the representations given by most of our Travellers and by some of our party writers\*. ‘It is extremely common,’ he remarks, ‘to depress the character of the Greeks below the very level of Turkish degradation. Truth obliges me to confess, that the Greeks are demoralized to a melancholy extent; but certainly, as far as my own observation

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\* In an article in the Quarterly Review, on ‘the Greek Question,’ in which the Destroyer of the Morea is represented as having procured for himself ‘the highest glory,’ the Greeks are characterized in the following heartless terms. ‘In the name of common sense, let not the people of England be further taxed, to feed the rapacity, and reward the perfidy, of a race of barbarians, who have all the vices of their ancestors with none of their redeeming virtues,—who are fit neither for subjection nor for freedom,—but must work out their deliverance from the frightful anarchy in which they are plunged, by a course of strife, and toil, and suffering, which the interference of foreigners may protract, may aggravate, but cannot prevent.’—Quarterly Review, LXXXVI. p. 545. Of the spirit of this article, which is throughout as disingenuous as it is malignant, we cannot trust ourselves to speak in adequate terms of indignation. It is not unworthy of the Mr. Philip James Green whom Mr. Blaquiere, in his “Letters from Greece,” has exposed in his true character as the bitter enemy of the Greeks.

'has gone, they are not inferior to Turks.' Had Englishmen been subjected to a similar thralldom for an equal length of time, they would doubtless 'have exhibited as melancholy an example 'of the awful corruption of the heart.' With regard to their alleged want of truth, Mr. H. acknowledges that there is too much ground for the imputation, but that he has never had reason to believe that the Greeks are more culpable in this respect than the Turks. 'It is difficult to say, indeed, what 'kind of falsehood can exceed that which is practised in Turkish 'courts of justice,' where 'the employment of false witnesses, 'even before the Grand Vizir or any other public functionary, 'is so frequent and well known, that it might almost seem as if 'no shame were felt in consequence.' Now, though the falsehood of the Turks will not extenuate that of the Greeks, it must be recollected, that those writers who have given the most unfavourable representations of the Greek character, have for the most part contrasted it with that of their masters, which has been the subject of partial and extravagant eulogy. Mr. Hartley affirms, that the same vices are common to both. Both, for instance, are inclined to plunder. The extortions of Ottoman pashas and agas are notorious, and the Turkish banditti of Asia Minor may be matched against the Greek klephts. On the other hand, 'with drunkenness,' which has been represented as a prevailing vice among them, 'the Greeks cannot be charged nationally'; and in the domestic relations, they exhibit traits of amiableness, and a degree of virtuous feeling, which advantageously distinguish them from the Ottomans. The question is, not what the Greek *is*, but of what he is susceptible; what he is capable of being made. Our answer is, *a Christian*. And few as may be the number of genuine Christians in Greece, they are sufficient to render the sweeping and malignant invectives against the nation as unjust as they are unfeeling, and to justify the hopes expressed by the Bishop of Talanti to the Rev. Jonas King, the estimable American missionary, 'that Greece would be saved, *because God 'hears prayer.*'\* After adverting to one pleasing example of piety, Mr. Hartley says:

'That there may be many excellent Greeks who live in the spirit of prayer, and in the hope of immortality, I indulge the confidence, not only from this instance, but from others which I might mention. One shall suffice. The individual to whom I refer is a person of learning. Conversing with him on the subject of prayer, he gave me to understand, that life would be almost intolerable to him, if he could not obtain at least one hour for daily communion with God. His expression was a very strong one: "Were I to be in Paradise, and

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\* See Eclectic Review, 3d Series, Vol. VI. p. 56. Article, *Religion in Greece*.

could not daily hold communion with God, to me it would be no Paradise." I have reason to believe that he spoke the language of his heart.' p. 113.

The present volume contains also some interesting, but melancholy information with regard to the desolated state of the Morea; and it supplies, incidentally, an emphatic exposure of the ignorance, or worse than ignorance, of the panegyrist of Ibrahim Pasha in the *Quarterly Review*, on one remarkable point. The Reviewer, with whom the word of Captain Hamilton goes for nothing, affects to discredit altogether the notorious fact of the cruelties practised by the Egyptian army; and with regard to their 'tearing up trees by the roots,' he thus endeavours to dispose of the fact by a quibble:—'This last particular, indeed, appears to us the most extraordinary fact ever recited, as an indication of the fell destroyer's purpose to complete the devastation of the country. Could a devastating army employ its time and labour more harmlessly? The truth seems to be, that nothing but a pre-determination to find a verdict against Ibrahim, could induce the admirals to proceed on such evidence.'\* We transcribe without comment the following statement from Mr. Hartley's pages.

'One of the most serious losses of Greece, has consisted in the wanton destruction of its olive-trees. In the district of Corone alone, as Mr. King informs us, not less than 290,000 trees *have been cut down by the Arabs.*' p. 28.

Speaking of the villages destroyed by Ibrahim's Arabs, in the plain of Astros, the Writer remarks: 'How applicable to the Morea is the language of the Prophet,—"Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence; and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers!"'

One interesting feature of the volume, is the numerous illustrations of Scripture which are scattered through Mr. Hartley's journal, in addition to those which are arranged under a distinct head. We select a single specimen.

'I accompanied Logothetes across the water (from Poros) into the Morea. I had my attention soon directed to the practice of grafting the olive-trees, to which St. Paul alludes. (Rom. xi. 17. 20. 23, 24.) My friend shewed me a few wild olives; but by far the greater number are such as have been grafted. He informs me, that it is the universal practice in Greece, to graft from a good tree, upon the wild olive.' p. 327.

The Apostle, however, seems to allude to an opposite practice;

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\* *Quarterly Review*, LXXXVI. p. 552 *note*.



that of grafting the oleaster upon the olive, which Columella and other authorities represent to have prevailed with success.

‘ *Fœcundat sterilis pingues oleaster olivas,  
Et quæ non novit munera ferre docet*’.

The volume comprises also the journal of a visit made by Mr. Hartley to ‘the Apocalyptic Churches’ in the year 1826: and it is on this account that we have connected with it Mr. Milner’s copious and elaborate illustration of their history. His volume, the plan of which, he informs us, is connected with the reminiscences of his earliest years, affords a somewhat uncommon specimen of the complete exhaustion of a favourite subject. The industry with which every ray of historic light is collected and made to bear upon it, the enthusiasm which it seems to have kindled in the Author’s mind, and the valuable purpose which the volume is designed to promote, cannot fail to excite approbation. In speaking of Greece, one is apt to forget, that ancient Hellas and the Islands of the Archipelago form only a part of the region over which the language, institutions, and all that is characteristic of the Greeks, once extended. To say nothing of Magna Græcia, the Asiatic peninsula, (which Mr. Milner erroneously confounds with it,) as well as Cyprus and Crete, and the southern shores of the Levant, might be included under the general denomination. It is in Natolia, which the wonders of art and the beauties of natural scenery once rendered ‘the richest, the most populous, and the fairest portion of the globe, the favourite abode alike of its Eastern and Western conquerors, and the chosen residence of their fabled gods,’\*—that the true character of that ‘barbarous, anarchic despotism’ is most unequivocally seen, beneath which, as Burke expressed it, ‘the human race itself melts away and perishes under the eye of the observer.’ We must once more have recourse to the pages of Mr. Hartley, who says, speaking of the ‘astonishing loss of population’ which these parts of the world have sustained since ancient times:

‘I have wandered amidst the ruins of Ephesus; and I had ocular and auricular demonstration, that where once assembled thousands exclaimed, *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*, now the eagle yells, the jackal moans, the echoes of Mount Prion and Mount Coryssus no longer reply to the voice of man. I have stood on the Hill of Laodicea, and I found it without a single resident inhabitant. There was, indeed, an inferiority in its desolations to those of Babylon. Of Babylon it was predicted, (Isaiah xiii. 20,) *The Arabian shall not pitch tent there*. At Laodicea, the Turcoman had pitched his migratory tent in the area of its ancient amphitheatre; but I saw neither church nor temple, mosque nor minaret, nor a single permanent abode. The ca-

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\* Modern Traveller, Vol. III. p. 356.

pital of the island of Corfu—to allude to a place adjacent to Turkey—is reported to have once contained 120,000 inhabitants: now, the entire island only numbers 60,000. Athenæus assures us, on the authority of Aristotle, that Ægina formerly possessed a slave population of 470,000: now, the total number of Æginetans is probably not more than 12,000. I have myself observed the exactitude with which the denunciations of Divine anger against the three Churches of Ephesus, Sardis, and Laodicea have been fulfilled. Whilst the other four churches of Asia, which are in part commended, and in part more mildly menaced, are still populous cities, and contain communities of nominal Christians, of each of these it may now be said, that it is *empty, and void, and waste*. And though *the Arabian may pitch tent at Laodicea, and the shepherds, as at Ephesus, make their fold there*, still have they scarcely been inhabited or dwelt in from generation to generation. *Wild beasts of the desert lie there—hyænas, wolves, and foxes. Their houses are full of doleful creatures: scorpions, enormous centipedes, lizards, and other noxious reptiles, crawl about amidst the scattered ruins; and serpents hiss and dart along through the rank grass which grows above them. And owls dwell there.* When I was standing beneath the three stupendous columns of the Temple of Cybele, which are still remaining at Sardis, I looked upward, and saw the species of owl which the Greeks call *Cuckuwaia*, perched on the summit of one of them. Its name is derived from its note; and, as it flits around the desolate ruins, emitting this doleful sound, it might almost seem to have been appointed to chaunt from age to age the dirge of these forsaken cities. And here the distich of Hafiz is most true:

“The spider has wove his web in the imperial palace;  
And the owl hath sung her watch-song on the towers of Afrasiab.”

‘I paid a visit to the city of Colossæ,—if that, indeed, may be called a visit, which left us in some degree of uncertainty whether we had actually discovered its remains. Colossæ has become doubly desolate: its very ruins are scarcely visible. Many a harvest has been reaped, where Epaphras and Archippus laboured. The vine has long produced its fruits, where the ancient Christians of Colossæ lived and died; and the leaves of the forest have for ages been strewn upon their graves. The Turks, and even the Greeks who reap the harvest and who prune the vine where Colossæ once stood, have scarcely an idea that a Christian church ever existed there, or that so large a population is there reposing in death.

‘How total is the work of demolition and depopulation in those regions, is evident from the fact, that the site of many ancient cities is still unknown. It was owing to the exertions of Mr. Arundell, my fellow-traveller in Asia, that the remains of Apamea and Sagalassus were brought to light: and there are still cities mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, which have eluded research. Where is Antioch of Pisidia? Where are Lystra and Derbe, cities of Lycaonia? Where is Perga of Pamphylia? We sought for Antioch, on our journey through Pisidia; but its place, as yet, has not been found. Count Alexandre de Laborde, a French gentleman distinguished for his scien-

tific attainments, went in search of Lystra and Derbe. An opinion had obtained ground, that extensive ruins, at a place named by the Turks Bin bir kilisa, "The thousand and one churches", were the remains of one of these cities. But, as I was informed by Count Laborde, it proved, on examination, that the opinion was altogether unfounded.' pp. 9—13.

As Mr. Milner's volume is chiefly a compilation, it will not be expected, that we should be very particular in our notice of its contents. The first chapter treats of the 'Divine Inspiration of the Apocalypse;' the second, of the Exile of John and the Isle of Patmos. Ephesus is the subject of the third, occupying 120 pages. The reader will, perhaps, be curious to know by what process the history of that city can have been made to take up so large a space; but we can give no fair idea, without extended extracts, of the entertaining medley of history, legend, description, exposition, and annotation of every kind, of which Ephesus is made the text. We are surprised, however, that Mr. M. should have omitted to give the description of the supposed site of the Temple of Diana, furnished by Pococke and by Van Egmont, which he would have found in the "Modern Traveller" (vol. III. p. 130); a work of which he appears to have made use, although he does not once refer to it.

The topography of this interesting region still requires elucidation by more accurate survey. The valley of the Lycus above Laodicea, more especially invites examination with a view to identify the site of Colosse. Antioch, the capital of Pisidia, which is erroneously placed by D'Anville at Ak-shehr, is supposed by Mr. Arundell to have occupied the site of Isbarta (or Isparteh), a town which lies a little way out of the route from Adalia to Kutaya: it is the residence of a pasha and a Greek bishop, being the chief place in the sanjiakat of Hamid, which comprises the mountainous district of Milyas and the interior of Pisidia. Isparta has been supposed to be the ancient *Sagalassus Lacedæmon*; but an inscription found by Mr. Arundell at the modern village of Aglason, together with the similarity of the name, seems to identify Sagalassus with that place. Antioch was evidently in the direct route from Perga (which probably stood near Adalia) to Iconium. The usual route to the latter city from the coast, is by way of Kelendri and Karaman; and Col. Leake represents the two great roads from Kelendri and Adalia as uniting at Bulwudun (or Baloudeen), a large town considerably to the north of Isparta, and on the route from Konieh to Kutaya. But there can be no doubt, we think, that a more direct route must run eastward from Isparta to Konieh, which would be that taken by St. Paul; and by ascertaining this fact, the identity of the former place with the Pisidian Antioch would be satisfactorily established. We must not, however, now enter upon these topo-



graphical inquiries, but shall take leave of the subject, after extracting as a specimen of Mr. Milner's work, his remarks upon the present condition of Thyatira, which is still a considerable place under the name of Akhissar (White Castle).

“The appearance of Thyatira, as we approached,” says Mr. Arundell, “was that of a very long line of cypresses, poplars, and other trees, amidst which appeared the minarets of several mosques and the roofs of a few houses at the right. On the left, a view of distant hills, the line of which continued over the town; and at the right, adjoining the town, was a low hill, with two ruined windmills.” Thyatira is indebted for its preservation and comparatively flourishing state, to its trade and situation. Its plain is still as much celebrated for its fertility, as it was when Antiochus mustered his host upon it, for the fatal encounter with Scipio; and travellers have remarked, that its dyes are still as famous as when Lydia sold its purple in Philippi. “It is its trade,” says Ricaut, “the crystalline waters, cool and sweet to the taste, and light on the stomach, the wholesome air, the rich and delightful country, which cause this city so to flourish in our days, and to be more happy than her other desolate and comfortless sisters.”

‘The luxuriant vegetation of Asia Minor has excited the admiration of most Europeans; and the myrtle and the olive, which bloom upon its hills and plains, relieve the eye of the traveller, and form a striking contrast with the mouldering fragments of some of man's mightiest works, which are strewn around them. The white rose blossoms abundantly in the neighbourhood of Ak-hissar; the almond and the cypress wave in thick masses of verdure upon its plain; and the spectator of an oriental landscape is impressively reminded by the natural beauty around him, that though the “glory of man” is compared to the flower of the field, yet nature is constantly renovating her productions, whilst the proudest efforts of human skill and labour sink into forgetfulness. The volumes of eastern travel have been singularly useful in illustrating the force and beauty of many passages of sacred writ. It is to the almond-tree that Solomon likens the silvery hair of age, and the white flowers which bloom upon its bare branches, shew the delicacy and justness of the similitude.

“The hope in dreams of a happier hour,  
That alights on Misery's brow,  
Springs out of the silvery almond flower,  
That blows on a leafless bough.”

‘Jeremiah saw a “rod of an almond tree,” to intimate that the divine judgements were nigh at hand upon his people; and the early appearance of its blossoms, awaking up to life and beauty, while nature is locked in the embrace of winter, explains the reference of the symbol. The prophet Zechariah saw “a man riding upon a red horse, among the myrtle-trees;” and the large dimensions to which they arrive in the balmy climate of Asia, preserves the consistency of the vision.

‘But this delightful district is no longer the undisputed domain of the church; and the Christian name, which was once its glory, is now

its shame and disgrace. 'The impressive tones of the muezzin, every where proclaim the ascendancy of the prophet ; and the dark and dirty churches of the Greeks, exhibit mournful evidence of the corruption and degeneracy of a purer faith. Ak-hissar is under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Ephesus, who is the *Ἀρχιεπίσκοπος*; but what is called the religion of Christ, is but a round of insignificant and disgusting ceremonies. The missionary has indeed passed through it with the word of life ; but ignorance has created insensibility, and custom has induced prejudice, and in not a few instances the priest has coolly turned aside from the gift he has offered to dispense. A false religion lords it over the territory which Christianity wrenched from the grasp of Paganism ; and the miserable relic of the faith which now remains, exists in the scene of its splendid conquest, in a state of contempt and sufferance as great as when subject to the oppression of heathen Rome.' pp. 285—287.

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Art. IV. *A Plan of Church Reform.* By Lord Henley. 8vo. pp. 64. 17. London. 1832.

THE beginning of the fifteenth century was signalized by the commencement of that long and desperate struggle between the hierarchy of this country and the Commons, which, in its issue, paved the way for the Reformation. Henry Bolingbroke, to secure his throne, 'was base enough,' remarks Mr. Turner, 'to bargain with the ecclesiastical power for its support, by promising a suppression of the Lollards. By thus incorporating his dynasty with the corruptions and evils of the Papal hierarchy, he made one of these two alternatives inevitable ; either that the improvements of mankind should be intercepted, or that the sovereignty of his house should cease ; a mad and desperate stake, which could only have the issue that ensued. The Bolingbrokes disappeared, and the Reformation proceeded. . . . The support which Henry gave to the established hierarchy, did not wholly preclude his parliament from attempting to reform it. . . . As these attacks of the Commons were obviously but the prelude to others, the Chancellor, in his speech to the parliament, on the next session, declared that the King had commanded him to state, that it was the royal will, that Holy Church should be maintained as it had been in the times of his progenitors, with all its liberties and franchises ; that every kingdom resembled a human body, and that the right side was the church, the left the temporal powers, and the other members the commonalty of the nation. The House of Commons heard the mandatory rebuke, but immediately addressed the King to remove his confessor and two others from his household.'\*

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\* Turner's History of England, Vol. II. 4to. pp. 265, 6; 268, 9.

This was conceded ; but, when the Commons renewed the attack on the clergy, they were forbidden to discuss such subjects. They persevered to request, however, that the bloody statute enacted against the Lollards might be repealed or modified, and were answered, that it ought to be made more severe. To check this troublesome spirit of reform, Henry had projected a crusade when death surprised him ; and the contest was renewed with more determined violence on the part of the Church in the reign of his successor. To this posture of affairs, Shakspeare refers with that admirable combination of dramatic conception and historic truth which generally distinguishes his illustrations of English story. The dialogue between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely about the reform-bill of the Commons, is so perfectly natural, that one might fancy it to have occurred in Lambeth Palace not a year ago.

‘ *Cant.* My lord, I’ll tell you,—that self *bill* is urged,  
Which, in the eleventh year o’ the last king’s reign,  
Was like, and had indeed against us passed,  
But that the scrambling and unquiet time  
Did push it out of further question.

‘ *Ely.* But how, my lord, shall we resist it now ?

‘ *Cant.* It must be thought on. If it pass against us,  
We lose the better half of our possession. . . .

‘ *Ely.* But what prevention ?

‘ *Cant.* The king is full of grace and fair regard.

‘ *Ely.* And a true lover of the holy church.

‘ *Cant.* The courses of his youth promised it not.  
The breath no sooner left his father’s body,  
But that his wildness, mortified in him,  
Seemed to die too.

‘ *Ely.* We are blessed in the change. . . .  
But how for mitigation of this bill  
Urged by the Commons ? Doth his majesty  
Incline to it, or no ?

‘ *Cant.* He seems indifferent ;  
Or, rather, swaying more upon our part,  
Than cherishing the exhibitors against us :  
For I have made an offer to his majesty,  
As touching France,—&c.

To put down the spirit of reform, a war with France is decided upon ; and the Archbishop promises to raise such a mighty sum as ‘ never did the clergy at one time bring in to his Majesty’s ‘ ancestors.’

We live in happier times. Four hundred years have not passed over England in vain. Protestantism, the immediate offspring of persecuted Lollardism, has acquired the ascendancy, civil and ecclesiastical. Yet still, strange to say, the contest between the



hierarchy and the commons has not terminated, but has only shifted its ground, and varied its character. The spirit of reform has slumbered and slept, but only to wake again; and to find, on its waking, that abuses have thriven and multiplied in the interval. Not that no great and substantial reforms have taken place. There was a time when the hierarchy comprised the most powerful body in the state, and when 'the clergy possessed above half the military fees, that is, of the landed property of the kingdom.\*' The Church was then a check upon the power of the nobles. At the Reformation, this balance of power was completely overthrown, and the magnates of the landed interest were bribed to Protestantism by the spoils of the church. Ever since that era, the hierarchy has been in complete subserviency to the interest which it had hitherto been able to restrain, and has been little more than a dependent branch of the aristocracy. This circumstance has greatly changed the character of the contest. In former times, the nobles and the commons were to be seen united in their opposition against the secular clergy and the crown; or again, the Church, under the fostering wings of which the class of free citizens and burghers was reared, might be beheld taking part with the people against feudal despotism. But, since the subjection of the Church to the aristocracy, (the greatest revolution that could possibly take place in its political relations,) the only party left to oppose the hierarchy, has been, of course, the democratic interest, and the only party interested in the perpetuity of the hierarchy is the landed interest.

Such is the present state of the contending parties, as compared with those of other days, with this additional and most material circumstance of difference; that the great rival orders of religious teachers with which the secular clergy had to contend, prior to the Reformation, were *within* the Church: though unconnected with the hierarchy, and opposed to it, the mendicant orders were still recognized as equally belonging to the National Church. The suppression of those orders has thrown the religious instruction of the great body of the people mainly into the hands of religious denominations *without* the Church, and the place of the Dominicans and Franciscans may be said to have been filled up by the Methodists and the Dissenters.

With regard to the principal grounds of complaint against the parochial clergy, a great change has taken place. The scandalous immoralities, as well as the pomp, venality, and luxury, which disgraced both the secular and the regular clergy of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, no longer form the matter of satire or invective. They would not now be tolerated. Yet it is

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\* Turner, Vol. II. p. 413.

remarkable, that some of the grievances complained of are substantially the same. Thus, in the address of the Commons against the clergy in the fourth year of Henry IV., they petitioned 'that every benefice should have a perpetual vicar, and that all persons advanced to benefices should be made to reside upon them, and to be hospitable to the poor.' This was more than four centuries ago. Yet even now, we find the noble and enlightened Author of this Plan of Church Reform affirming, that 'the most prominent evil in the Church is, the non-residence of the beneficed clergy and the system of pluralities.' 'No measure of Church Reform,' his Lordship adds, 'can sustain any pretension to the consideration of the country, which does not, with a due regard to vested interests, put an end to this evil and corrupt system.'

That the time has at length arrived, when Church Reform can no longer be evaded, is the conviction of all parties. It is a happy circumstance, that the moral reform that has taken place in the characters of the clergy, together with the removal of the odious and oppressive civil distinctions so long an instrument of oppression and a source of irritation, will considerably tend to mitigate the violence of hostility against the system, by divesting it of the character of personal animosity. Nothing but the most absolute infatuation on the part of the ecclesiastical proprietors and the rulers of the hierarchy, can lead them, by blindly opposing necessary reforms, to waken a spirit of determined resentment. The temperate, yet faithful remonstrance and counsel contained in the present pamphlet, coming from an individual whose benevolence and piety ennoble him still more than his title, must make, one would think, a powerful impression upon all who are capable of dispassionately considering the subject, and of understanding the signs of the times.

'A conviction', says Lord Henley, 'has for some time been gaining ground among the best friends of the Church, that several Corruptions exist in it, which secularize and debase its spirit, contract the sphere of its usefulness, and loosen its hold on the affections and veneration of the People. They consider that its well-being depends upon a timely and judicious Correction of Abuses, which some affirm to be of such a nature and magnitude, as to threaten its existence as an Establishment. And it is frequently declared, that the time has arrived, when the appointed Guardians of its Interests should come forward with some more extensive and some more vital measure of Reformation, than any which has yet been communicated to the Country.'

'Many, however, of the wise and good, while they are deeply conscious of the existence of these evils, are, nevertheless, afraid to countenance an efficacious Plan of Reform, lest the whole of the venerable fabric be endangered in the process of its reparation; a sentiment just, prudent, and righteous, and entitled to the most respectful and the most affectionate deference. The problem, therefore, which is to

be solved is this:—Whether, on the one hand, the evils complained of, are really so considerable that we ought to encounter the dangers which attend all extensive alterations, and remove them; or, whether we shall stand absolved before God, in permitting them to continue, although no better defence of them can be adduced, than the difficulty and hazard of their removal.

‘This is a question of great importance to the present and eternal welfare of thousands; and it must be determined by no lower authority than that one unerring test by which all human transactions ought to be tried:—The will of God, either expressly declared or necessarily implied in his revealed word. All other modes of solving or evading it, all reference to maxims of mere worldly policy and expediency,—all reliance on human wisdom, foresight, or learning, will only lead us into error, imperfection, and mistake. A narrow or unscriptural defence of the Establishment, will accelerate the downfall of its fair and noble bulwarks.

‘The present time also appears to be peculiarly fitted for a deep and calm consideration of this momentous subject. It requires, indeed, but little experience to be “well aware, that Power rarely reforms itself.” “So, indeed, it is,” said Mr. Burke, “when all is quiet around it.” But may it not be hoped, that a due attention, on the part of those in whose hands the issues of this question are placed, to the state and prospects of society, may for once make an exception to this undoubted rule? When they observe the voice of the nation demanding in every public functionary, a higher degree of zeal and purity and public virtue; when abuses are no longer deemed sacred because they are venerable, nor improvements rejected as rash because they are extensive, may they not be induced to do “early and from foresight,” and with due caution, and temper, and deliberation, that which every prudent man perceives must be soon done in one way or another?

‘Let us hope that these considerations, and the recollection of the mistakes which have been committed in so long resisting the desires of a nation thirsting for improvement and reformation, may make those who ride in the high places of the earth, more humble and tolerant, more attentive to the just demands of the governed, more observant of those claims which the varying condition of society is daily advancing. How obvious was it to all temperate and impartial spectators, that, as soon as Parliament had recovered from the agitation of the Catholic Question, the first subject that would occupy its attention would be that of Parliamentary Reform. How moderate were then the demands of its most ardent advocates: how slight the concessions which would have satisfied the just expectations of the nation! And yet, with what pertinacity were the most temperate alterations resisted, and how wide and extensive, and in the judgement of many how hazardous, is the measure which this pertinacity has produced!

‘Let us, therefore, take warning from our past experience. It is impossible to regard the temper of the nation and of the times, without being convinced that, as soon as the subject which now engrosses its attention has been satisfactorily adjusted, one of the first questions agitated in the Reformed Parliament, will be the extent and nature



and application of the Revenues of the Church. It therefore behoves every sincere friend of our venerable Establishment to prepare for that conflict which most assuredly awaits her; and to see that she is able to give an account of her stewardship, and of the application of those Talents which the piety and munificence of our ancestors have committed to her hands.

‘If, in the result of an Enquiry, instituted in a humble and kind spirit, and with a sincere desire of attaining to the truth, some portion of error, imperfection, and abuse, be discovered, it will be her wisest policy, as it is her bounden duty, to lose not a moment in putting away all Evils and Corruptions. A superficial, slight, and palliative expedient, will neither satisfy the zeal and love of her friends, nor disarm the rancour of her enemies. The nation will demand a sound, an honest, and above all, a Religious Reformation; a Reformation springing from a deep conviction of the extent and sinfulness of the Corruptions which prevail, and conducted with high and holy aspirations after Christian Purity and Excellence; a Reformation adopted in obedience to God’s Word and Will, and conducted in subordination to that heavenly standard.

‘We must remember that the Endowments of the Church are property given for a special purpose. They are the subject of a great Trust for the maintenance and service of Religion. And whether we regard the Church in the abstract as one vast corporation, or in a more technical point of view, as an aggregate of corporations, she must equally be considered as a trustee invested with the management and control of funds, given for the discharge of a duty of the very highest and holiest nature. And if by time, or accident, or neglect, or by the rise or improvement of property, or by the increase of population, any material impediment shall have arisen to prevent the due performance of this trust, it is the clear right and bounden duty of the Legislature to enforce its faithful execution. And if this cannot be effected except by some change in the channel through which the fund is transmitted, notwithstanding all objections to extensive alterations, yet such alterations must inevitably be effected. It would, indeed, be injustice and tyranny, to abridge the life income of any individual; but when the highest interests of the community, and the strong call of religion, unite with the clear will of the donor, in pointing out the necessity of an alteration in the specific mode of effecting his intentions, there should no longer be any doubt of the justice, or of the propriety, of varying any existing mode of distribution as to all subsequent objects of his bounty. No one now maintains the inviolability of corporate rights, where a clear case of public necessity or expediency demands their sacrifice. And when the first of all duties, and the most urgent of all necessities, call for an alteration in the application of public property, it would be preposterous to contend, that the embryo rights of any number of unappointed or unborn functionaries, can legitimately interpose to prevent a just or necessary measure of Reform.’ pp. 3—9; 17—18.

This is language worthy of a Christian legislator. Let but such a spirit as this direct the policy of our reformed legislature,

and it will not be difficult to satisfy the just and reasonable demands of the nation. The dread, however, of an ecclesiastical reformation following upon a reform in the representation, has been, there can be no doubt, one main ground upon which the corrupt part of the aristocracy, and a majority of the beneficed clergy, have so obstinately and violently opposed the Reform Bill introduced by His Majesty's ministers. It has been distinctly put forward, indeed, as a valid reason for resisting all innovation, that the reform of political abuses would endanger the Church; as if the Establishment too rested on mere prescription! The 'entire abrogation of the Church Establishment' has been confidently predicted as the certain consequence of disfranchising Old Sarum and Gatton, and of conceding the franchise to the manufacturing towns. But the plain truth is, that such a reform as Lord Henley advocates, would be the *emancipation* of the Church. The clergy, in opposing it, would be blindly fighting against their own interests. The Church, considered as a body corporate, or, as Mr. Coleridge calls it, 'the national *clerisy*', would lose nothing, and gain much, by an equitable adjustment of Church property. It is not really the cause of the Church, though ostensibly hers, but that of the Leviathan Interest which has first enriched itself with the spoils, and then strengthened itself by appropriating the patronage of the Establishment;—it is the cause of the aristocracy, not of the clergy, which the anti-reformers feel to be at stake or in danger. It is of importance that this should be set in its just light, by exposing the true character of the present vicious system.

Lord Henley has noticed two of the main arguments urged in defence of the existing system of Church patronage, and in a few words demonstrated their futility. One favourite argument is, that it is necessary to have *sinecures* in the Church, '*as a temptation to men of family to enter the Church*, by which means, religion is brought home to the higher classes, and the Church obtains a support and an acknowledgement, which is of great benefit to the cause of religion.'

'Now this object,' remarks his Lordship, 'the importance of which, however, has been somewhat overrated, may be most amply and effectually secured to any profession, by establishing in it a few splendid prizes of honour and emolument, which may tempt into it men of various qualifications, whether such qualifications be those of birth and family connection, or others of an intrinsically higher and nobler order. But it will neither be effectually nor creditably attained, by the institution of sinecures. If the object of a candidate for Holy Orders be to vegetate upon a sinecure, whatever be his rank and connection, he will at best be nothing more than a dead weight upon the Church. And in most cases, the Church would be better without him; for, the more elevated his birth, the more conspicuous will be the scandal of his inefficiency.'



‘ The other argument in favour of *Sinecures* in the Church is, that it is necessary to have them *as a Reward and Support to learned men*. As far as this applies to the sustentation of secular learning, it must be distinctly controverted. As long as one *Benefice* remains without a resident Pastor, or one mass of population without the appointed means of grace, any such application of the funds of the Church is a direct misappropriation of them. But as far as it respects those eminent individuals who serve the cause of religion by their theological attainments and by the exercise of their pens, the argument bears a very different aspect.

‘ The first impulse, indeed, of zeal and piety might be tempted to assert, that the Gospel being essentially and emphatically, though not exclusively, a message to the Poor, the very highest degrees of talent or erudition are neither necessary nor available for its promulgation; and therefore, that the State will have sufficiently performed the duty incumbent upon it of supporting Christianity, when it shall have provided for the maintenance of an adequate number of teachers sufficiently gifted to make a sound and wholesome impression on the understandings of the common race of mankind; and that the description of persons to whom funds given for the service of religion are applicable, must be confined to the Parochial Clergy and those who superintend and direct them.

‘ But it would not be difficult to demonstrate, that however well meaning and pious this view of the question may be, yet that it is infinitely too narrow and contracted. We may safely affirm, that all which is wisely and properly expended in securing a highly “lettered and intellectual Church” is literally expended in the Promotion of Christianity and in the Propagation of the Gospel.

‘ But the argument for *Sinecures*, drawn from the necessity of encouraging learning, will, on closer examination, appear to have no greater weight in it, than the like argument when applied to the expediency of enticing men of birth into the Church. It proves very satisfactorily the benefit of an opulent endowment, but not at all the necessity of *sinecures*. To tempt commanding talents and strenuous industry into the service of the Church, it is enough to hold out those splendid prizes which we have already alluded to. And the lustre of such prizes will in no degree be impaired, because the enjoyment of them is attended with much immediate devotion of labour and of time. And these prizes, as they have been the temptation to such men, so will they in most instances be their appropriate remuneration or support. A profound and successful pursuit of ecclesiastical and universal literature till the age of forty or forty-five, will best qualify men of eminent talents to sustain with dignity and efficiency the various duties of the Episcopal Office, and then will that office be their best remuneration. On the other hand, we have many bright examples which shew, that the most conscientious and laborious devotion to the details of duty, does not prevent the acquisition of new triumphs in the paths of Christian authorship, and then the Office becomes the fit and proper maintenance of such valuable Labourers. Nor is it probable, that the same application to theology in the earlier period of



life, will unfit the generality of able men from mixing in the active and evangelizing labours of Parochial Ministration. The result therefore is, that the existence of Sinecures can only be defended, as a maintenance for that very small portion of the theological world, which consists of retired students, fitted neither for Episcopal nor for Parochial Duties. A list so minute, that it would hardly have been necessary in a new system to have provided for them at all, but who, in that fresh arrangement and distribution of Church Property which is here proposed, can be most amply remunerated, without any material violation of the grand principle of that arrangement.

‘But whatever may be the value in theory of this latter argument for Sinecures, it will be found to have had little real operation in practice. If any one turns to the list of the Dignitaries of our Cathedrals, he will find, that not more than one twentieth of them have had any claims to preferment on the ground of theological or even literary attainments. Parliamentary Interest, Family Connections, or Party Gratitude, have in general filled up all vacancies as they have arisen, with the Sons, the Brothers, and the Tutors of ministers and their adherents. This species of Patronage has generally been considered, to use the language of an able writer in a valuable periodical publication, “only as so much oil for greasing the wheels of Government, that the machine of state may roll on more smoothly.” Widely, he observes, as the several parties who have governed the country for the last century have differed in other things, they have all agreed to regard the Church as a source of Patronage, which might fairly be employed either for the gratification of private partiality or the purchase of so much Parliamentary support.’ pp. 26—31.

We do not feel it to be within our province to give any opinion of the specific plan proposed by Lord Henley. Among the points which it embraces, are, the more equitable division and arrangement of church property, and the gradual abolition of pluralities;—an equalization of the bishoprics, with a view to put an end to the scandal of translations and the objectionable practice of *commendams*;—the erection of two new sees,—the one, comprising the southern parts of the diocese of Lincoln, to have its seat at Windsor, and the other, comprising the counties of Derby and Nottingham, to have its seat at Southwell;—the extension of the law of residence to the prelates of the Church, and *their removal from Parliament*;—lastly, the transfer of the Crown Patronage to a Board of Unpaid Commissioners. The Commutation of Tithes, it is remarked, ‘cannot with propriety be designated as a measure of Church Reform, being an equitable adjustment of a most lawful, but, to the feelings of many, an irritating and vexatious demand.’ We cannot refrain from transcribing part of the admirable remarks by which his Lordship supports the proposal for relieving the Prelates from their parliamentary duties. If this can be satisfactorily effected, he says, ‘it would probably do more towards spiritualizing the Church,

‘ and advancing the interests of true religion, than any measure  
 ‘ which has been adopted since the days of the Reformation.’

‘ As nothing has a more certain effect in secularizing the Church, than the introduction of Politics into it, so nothing has a greater tendency to lower it in the estimation of the people. One reason why our Judges are so justly popular, is their very general separation from all party violence and political litigation. The admixture of the Ministers of Religion in politics, is bad every way. If, as is the natural inclination of religious men, of men looking beyond this present scene, and caring for nothing while they continue in it, but the maintenance of good government and order, they keep aloof from the transitory squabbles of party, and support the Administration of the day, they incur the charge of servility, and perhaps of tergiversation. If, on the other hand, they embark in a systematic course of opposition, they seem to be violating those commands which inculcate submission to the powers that be, and which declare resistance to such powers, to be resistance to the ordinance of God. If they find it their duty to withstand the loud and earnest desires of the great mass of the people, they are pursued by a “hunt of obloquy,” which is of infinite evil, in all respects, and which turns into persecutors and revilers, those who ought to “esteem them very highly in love for their works’ sake.”

‘ The real influence of the Church in the counsels of the nation, and the security of her endowments, do not depend on the votes or the speeches of a small number of Representatives or “Guardians” in Parliament; but on the habits and affections of the people, strengthened and confirmed by her own growing desire to work out her purity and efficiency, and by her faithfulness in the discharge of the great trust which is committed to her hands. These are the arms by which, under the protection of God, she will repel the attacks of all enemies, and secure the support not only of every religious, but of every peaceful, sober, moral, and temperate man in the kingdom. With these, she may rely with confidence on Parliament, and permit her Hierarchy, unpolluted by Politics, to apply its undivided energies to that sacred object to which it should be exclusively devoted.’

pp. 49—53.

‘ So far from being weaker, the Church would be much the  
 ‘ stronger, by the severing of *this unnatural alliance between*  
 ‘ *the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of the world.*’

We cannot close this article without acknowledging the candid and conciliatory manner in which Lord Henley refers to ‘the indefatigable exertions of the Dissenters’, and the warm praise which he bestows upon an Institution in the metropolis,—of which, indeed, his Lordship is an active and most efficient supporter,—the Society for promoting Christian Instruction. We shall take a future opportunity of adverting more particularly to the operations of that most meritorious institution. ‘What a noble opportunity’, exclaims Lord Henley, ‘does the state of our populous towns present, for the performance of one splendid

‘ act of Christian magnanimity ! What a spectacle would it be, of the influence of true religion on the heart, if the Church of England and the three more numerous bodies of Trinitarian Dissenters, forgetting all past causes of jealousy and irritation, would bury the remembrance of their trifling differences of doctrine in the glorious object of evangelizing the benighted millions that surround them ! ’

Art. V. 1. *The Theological Library*. No. I. *The Life of Wiclif*. By Charles Webb Le Bas, M.A., Professor in the East India College, Herts, &c. F.cap. 8vo. pp. xvi. 454. Price 6s. London, 1832.

2. *The Sunday Library ; or the Protestant's Manual for the Sabbath-Day*: being a Selection of Sermons from Eminent Divines of the Church of England, chiefly within the last half-century. With Occasional Biographical Sketches and Notes. By the Rev. T. F. Dibdin, D.D., Rector of St. Mary's, Bryanston Square, and Vicar of Exning, Suffolk. 6 Vols. f.cap. 8vo. Price 1*l.* 10s. 1831, 2.

3. *The Christian's Family Library*, under the Superintendence of the Rev. E. Bickersteth, Rector of Watton, Herts. No. I. *Luther and the Lutheran Reformation*. By the Rev. John Scott, M.A. Vol. I. 12mo. Price 6s. London, 1832.

4. *The Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge*. No. 29. *Life of Calvin*. Part II. 12mo. Price 6*d.* 1832.

5. *The Vestry Library*. Select Works of the Right Rev. Joseph Hall, D.D., Lord Bishop of Norwich. Edited by Thomas Russell, A.M. Vols. I. to V. 12mo. 5s. each.

6. *Anthologia Sacra ; or Select Theological Extracts*, on Subjects doctrinal, practical, and experimental: selected and arranged by the Rev. Bernard Gilpin, M.A., Rector of St. Andrew, Hertford; and William Henry Valpy, Esq., Honourable East India Company's Civil Service. Roy. 8vo. 2 Parts in I. pp. xvi. 352. 320. Price 1*l.* 4s. London, 1832.

IT is a favourite paradox with a certain school of political economists, that production creates for itself a market ;—that the supply excites the demand, not the demand the supply. Fallacious as this position is, if taken as a general axiom, it would seem to be almost absolutely true of one sort of production, namely, that which ministers to the intellectual luxury, the artificial appetite of *reading*. Books create readers, not readers books. Of the multitudes of books that sell, how few are there of which it could be truly said, that they were wanted ! With regard to the mass of publications that obtain few or no readers, or a very limited sale, it will readily be admitted, that the fact proves the



absence of demand and the superfluity of supply; and this may seem to contradict the notion, that supply creates the market. But, on the other hand, it may be asked, was there any previous demand for the works that do sell? Was Lardner's Cyclopædia, or the Family Library, or Waverley, demanded by the specific wants of the reading public, before those attractive novelties were brought into the literary market? Assuredly not. There was no more previous want, to excite a demand, and by demand to call into existence the supply, in the case of the works that sell, than in that of the less fortunate speculations. The former sell, not because they were wanted, but because they have excited curiosity, because they have created an artificial want. And the latter, including many publications of equal or superior intrinsic value, do not sell, because they are not adapted to stimulate this capricious appetite, or to waken, on their own behalf, this desire of acquisition. The truth is, that books are a luxury, and luxuries are never wanted. For, although they are the most tempting of articles, when skilfully got up, and when money is to be had, if they were *not* supplied, people would be content with such things as they had.

If this were not the fact, why should there be so little demand for old works of intrinsic and established worth, compared with that which is produced by new books? If the reading appetite was steady, and the fund for supplying the consumption of literary productions was of that regular and distinct kind that supports the demand for necessities, so that an average aggregate sum was constantly expended in the purchase of books, it would in that case be a serious evil, that so many new books of inferior quality are continually driving out of the market their more respectable predecessors. If every individual who can afford to purchase books, allowed himself so much money's-worth of reading per year, as he allows himself so many coats, more or less, or his wife so many bonnets, then our duty as Reviewers would become a still more responsible and delicate one than it is; for then, every book of light reading, every work of slender pretension, every well-meant but uncalled for production, must be regarded as taking the place of more valuable articles, and the cost of them as so much money misappropriated, like that which is spent in trash or finery. And then we should have occasion to regret, still more than we do, that the standard and stock works of English literature are obtaining at the present time so slow and limited a sale,—that the demand for such works has of late greatly declined,—and that few volumes larger than a duodecimo, or the cabinet size, stand a fair chance of repaying the publisher: facts which may receive their explanation from the depression of trade and the engrossing interest of public events.

But we console ourselves for the apparent preference given to

works of small size and slight construction, annuals, libraries, and all sorts of typographical novelties, by inclining to the opinion, that their sale subtracts scarcely anything from the demand for other kinds of works; and that, after making every reasonable deduction, we may consider the forced sale of these publications as being, very nearly to its whole extent, an addition to the demand as well as to the supply. School-books, books of science, and others which may be regarded as the tools of education or of scientific acquisition, may be classed among necessities, and they are therefore excepted from the general law to which we have been adverting; although even these works promote, to a very considerable degree, the desire and want which they are adapted to meet: the appetite not merely grows by what it feeds on, but is originally excited by its proper food. With regard also to religious publications in general, it must be admitted, that there is a steady demand, which necessitates, to a certain degree, the supply. And yet, who can doubt that the multiplication of religious books tends to augment the number, and to increase the consumptive power, (if we may so speak,) of religious readers? And so far as they increase religion, they increase the demand for instruction, which religion never fails to produce.

If this be true, religious works, then, require, as well as others, to be adapted, not merely to the existing want or demand, but to the latent desire for knowledge, which they must be the instrument of eliciting. No man likes to remain ignorant of any thing which he deems worth knowing; but the quiescence of ignorance would be absolute, were it not for the vague prompting of curiosity; since no one, till he begins to acquire knowledge, and has even made some advancement, can have any idea of the extent of his ignorance, or ascertain how much worth knowing, and how well worth the trouble of learning, are the things proposed to his attention. How few persons, comparatively, even among the educated classes, have any competent acquaintance with the history of their own country! An historical novel, perhaps, first excites a curiosity to know something more of the facts relating to that particular period. But of the value of historical knowledge, no one can have any correct estimate, who has not already made it his study. In like manner, of the rich mass of theological literature, the irreligious man remains willingly ignorant, because he has not religious knowledge enough to know, how deep and injurious is his ignorance, and how much religion itself is worthy of being known. In reference to such subjects, indeed, there is moreover a secret reason at work in the heart, leading men to prefer darkness to light. Still, though religious ignorance opposes a more determined resistance than any other species of ignorance, to the efforts of those who would disturb its slumber, it is to be dealt with, and vanquished, by similar methods and weapons;

by rendering the fruits of knowledge pleasant to the eye, and so turning against the arch-tempter his own expedient, by stimulating the curiosity to inquiry, and by making the mind dissatisfied with its limited powers and narrow possessions.

In the present day, there has taken place in the public mind, a very considerable development of the passion for knowledge, but attended with an impatience of the slow process of acquisition, which almost frustrates the desire, and gives a superficial character to the age. The curiosity of the public mind is intense, but puerile, and such as belongs to the first stages of education, before the habit of mind proper to study, and the power of fixing the attention, have been attained by practice. The facilities of acquiring knowledge have been prodigiously augmented; and as the consequence of this simplification of the apparatus, far more information may be obtained by a given effort of attention, and at a given cost of time and money, than at any former period in human history. Every thing favours the widest diffusion of knowledge, except the unreflective character, the mental indolence of this over-busy age. There has been an indefinite multiplication of readers, for whose sake the press is kept in constant activity; and yet literature languishes, and mind degenerates. This state of things, and its natural tendency, have been forcibly depicted by the Author of "*Saturday Evening*,"—a volume to the extraordinary merits of which our hurried notice scarcely rendered justice, and which presents a brilliant exception to the Writer's remarks on the state of sacred science.

'The extension of knowledge,' remarks the philosophical Writer, 'and the incalculable multiplication of readers, have effected, in an indirect manner, a revolution in literature as complete as that produced by the invention of printing, though less conspicuous. The simple circumstance, that books have become one of the most considerable articles of commerce, has reversed the direction of the influence of which the press is the medium. Our literature is commanded, or controlled, by the people; and only in a secondary sense commands them. The reader has grown into an importance that makes him lord of the writer. Authors furnish (how should they do otherwise?) that which readers ask for, or will receive.—Until of late, and in all informed communities, men of high endowments have exercised, in their several departments, a sort of domination, perhaps more exempt than any other from the re-action of the governed upon the governing power. Not absolutely, but yet in a great degree, mind has wrought alone;—has produced its fruits spontaneously; and has confided those fruits, without fear and without care, to the admiration and conservation of mankind. For the better or the worse, writers have, in all ages but our own, been the leaders of the intelligence of the world.'



‘ We speak of this new order of things at large, and in its essential character, without denying the many exceptions and mitigations to which it is open. But if a plain fact is to be spoken of in plain terms, it is thus; that Books have at last thoroughly come under the laws that regulate the quantity, quality, fashion, form, and colour of silks, potteries, furniture, jewels, and other articles of artificial life. Now who does not know that the purchaser of any such commodity must (whatever special circumstances may seem to disguise the fact) stand in the relation of master to the manufacturer, the artist, the workman? . . . . Under the present mercantile regimen, the diffusion of knowledge may spread wider than yet it has, and at a quicker rate; and a certain amount of intelligence may become the common property of the people; but is there not reason to predict the non-appearance of works that might descend to distant ages? And as the experiment is new, it remains to be seen, whether even general intelligence can be long upheld, while decay is taking place in the higher departments of literature;—whether the mind of a people can be kept alive *at all* on the democratic principle;—whether, in a word, the course we are running on, though crowded with gayety and stir, is not leading to the depression of learning, taste, and philosophy.’

The bearing of all this upon the character of religious publications, is then adverted to. Happily, in reference to them, counteractive causes are always at work, so that ‘ the actual operation of the existing economy of the literary world upon religious books is to be discerned in its negative, more than in its positive effects. That is to say, though our theological and devotional publications are not so much vitiated by the interference of commercial motives as might have been anticipated, these causes act directly, in combination with others, to discourage and repress that higher order of composition which the Church now stands most in need of, and which the venders of books, with a sure foreknowledge of their small success, are wont to frown upon. Works which would slowly and surely benefit the mass of Christians, through the intervention, and by the means of a few hundred readers, are not produced, because, on the existing system, they cannot be published, or, if published, would be lost sight of in the crowd of more specious candidates for public favour.’\*

Other influences unfavourable to the production of the higher class of religious composition are pointed out, to which it would be foreign from our immediate purpose to advert. We have cited the Author chiefly as a witness to the fact, which it concerns

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\* “ Saturday Evening,” pp. 106, 7; 112.

the friends of literature as well as of religion, distinctly to apprehend, in order to guide their efforts, and to preclude unreasonable disappointment. The level of the public taste and intelligence has been, it must be acknowledged, greatly raised, so that a writer finds it more easy than formerly, to put himself in communication with the understandings of the mass of readers. But then, there is little that rises above that democratic level in the world of mind. Nor must an author any longer look for the deference of disciples or the patience of learners among those who deign to give him *a turn* of their attention. A mercantile equality has confounded all the gradations of the literary aristocracy; and anonymous writers are the only ones who can maintain a shadow of authority. Why is this? Because the only spell that either excites or binds the attention of the frivolous, volatile, superficial spirit of the community, is curiosity.

The 'Cabinet Library' plan was a happy thought; and its success has proved how exactly it was adapted to act as a stimulus upon the sluggish demand. The complaint is, we believe, general and loud, that scarcely any other sort of publication now obtains a ready sale; but we are not convinced, that an equal portion of solid information could by any possibility have been put into circulation in any other shape. We do not, indeed, imagine that the readers have kept pace with the printers, or that the monthly volume has been always cut open by every purchaser. Still, we are disposed to think, that Dr. Lardner's admirably conducted 'Cyclopædia,' and the various libraries of humbler pretensions, have done much in *diffusing* knowledge, at a juncture at which there was slight hope of its being *advanced* by original and independent efforts. They have furnished employment for the superfluity of intellectual capital, at a time that private literary adventures had little chance of success. They have brought a new article into a dull market, when nothing old could tempt purchasers; and if the supply has not satiated the demand thus created, it may be hoped, that when the fashion which supports the sale of these works shall have passed away, the craving appetite to which they have ministered will remain.

The exclusion of theological literature from these Libraries, naturally led to several projects designed to take advantage of this deficiency. A well conceived series commenced under the title of the 'Library of Religious Knowledge', was cut short at its second Number by the failure of the publisher and projector. The 'Vestry Library', the first volume of which was issued in 1829, has only reached, we believe, its fifth, comprising, thus far, only the select works of Bishop Hall. In the prospectus, it was announced, that these were to be followed by the select works of Baxter. As neat and cheap editions of their more popular writings, these volumes will probably be acceptable; but we

should recommend the dropping of the designation, Vestry Library, as by no means appropriate. Of the Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge, we shall only here say, that we give its projectors credit for the purest intentions, and that we regret that the plan was not better laid. Dr. Dibdin's Sunday Library is merely a selection of sermons from eminent divines of the Church of England; among whom, in happy illustration of the entire harmony of doctrine which characterises her authorized instructors, Secker, Porteus, and Horne are found ranging in with Bishop Maltby, Sydney Smith, Alison, and Dr. Parr! 'Some very few' of these sermons have been taken from the writings of divines 'not of the established Church'; to wit, Robert Hall's sermon on Infidelity, and two by Dr. Chalmers. Dr. Dibdin seems not to be aware that Dr. Chalmers is a divine of the established Scottish Church, so that his offence against the etiquette of strict orthodoxy is limited to the introduction of a single sermon by one eminent Dissenter. His confident hope that the selection will be found to contain a series of Discourses applicable to all sorts and conditions of men, is not an unwarrantable presumption; since all sorts of readers may find sermons adapted to their liking, except those who are so unreasonable as to require a larger infusion of the doctrines which distinguish the 'Truth as it is in Jesus,' than Dr. Dibdin would probably deem expedient. With a few exceptions, however, the sermons are not chargeable with positive heterodoxy; and we shall be glad to think that these volumes will introduce Sunday reading into polite circles, within which the vacant hours of the Sabbath are not likely to be occupied with more profitable employment.

At length, we have before us the promising commencement of 'a digested system of religious and ecclesiastical knowledge,' which bids fair at once for popularity and permanence. Nothing could be more judicious than the choice of the subject for the first volume, nor could it easily have been assigned to more able hands. As a high-churchman, Professor Le Bas has executed his task with creditable impartiality, as well as consummate skill. He acknowledges, with becoming candour, his 'great obligations' to the labours of Mr. Vaughan, paying a just compliment to the indefatigable labour bestowed by that 'gentleman' in the scrupulous examination of all the extant writings of Wiclif.

'There seems', he says, 'to be no repository of ancient literature in the empire which has escaped the industry of Mr. Vaughan. In some respects, I have accordingly found his work a most invaluable guide; for his diligence has enabled him to ascertain the date of many of Wiclif's performances, with an approach to precision which had never before been attained; and, thus, to trace out, with greater success than any former writer, the progress and development of the Reformer's convictions. I have further to declare myself deeply indebted



to the liberality of Mr. Vaughan and his publishers, for their kind and ready permission to print, from his work, the catalogue of Wiclif's writings, which forms the concluding chapter of this volume. It is unquestionably the most complete account of his works which has ever yet been laid before the public.'

This is just and honourable praise, such as Mr. Vaughan must be gratified to receive from so competent a judge; and he may congratulate himself on having so completely rescued Wiclif's character from the misconceptions which clouded it, that a subsequent writer, entering into his labours, is led to adopt his portrait of the great proto-reformer as the authentic one. It is no disparagement of the ability shewn by the present Biographer, to suppose, that, but for Mr. Vaughan's masterly analysis of the opinions and character of Wiclif, they would have appeared to much less advantage in this volume. With every disposition to do justice to his subject, Professor Le Bas would scarcely have been enabled to disengage his mind so successfully from the prejudices which prevented even Milner from rightly appreciating Wiclif's character, had he not been in possession of the documentary evidence to which he acknowledges himself so deeply indebted. We have been particularly pleased with the ample and explicit manner in which the merits of this extraordinary man are recognized and brought out by his present Biographer, and 'the 'righteous estimate' of his character as it presents itself to our conceptions 'through the haze and mist of ages,' which here receives so authoritative a confirmation. We must transcribe the entire passage in which it is portrayed.

'Unfortunately, Wiclif is known to us almost entirely by his writings. Over all those minute and personal peculiarities which give to any individual his distinct expression and physiognomy, time has drawn an impenetrable veil. To us he appears, for the most part, as a sort of unembodied agency. To delineate his character, in the fullest and most interesting sense of that word, would be to write romance and not biography. During a portion of his life, indeed, he is more or less mixed up with public interests and transactions: but of these matters, our notices are but poor and scanty; and, if they were more copious, they would probably do little more towards supplying us with those nameless particulars to which biography owes its most powerful charm. With regard to the details of his daily life,—the habitual complexion of his temper,—the turn of his conversation,—the manner of his deportment among his companions,—his inclinations or antipathies,—his friendships and his alienations,—we must be content to remain in hopeless ignorance. The only circumstance recorded concerning him, that falls within the description of an *anecdote*, is the reply with which he confounded the meddling and insidious Friars, who intruded themselves upon him when they thought he was about to breathe his last. This incident is, indeed, most abundantly characteristic; and it makes us bitterly regret that it stands alone. A few more such particulars

would have been quite invaluable. As it is, we must be satisfied to think of him as of a voice crying in the wilderness, and lifting up, through a long course of years, a loud, incessant, heart-stirring testimony against abuses which for ages had wearied the long-suffering of Heaven. Respecting his gigantic successor, Martin Luther, we are in possession of all that can enable us to form a distinct conception of the man. We see him in connexion with the wise, and the mighty, and "the excellent of the earth." We behold him in his intercourse with sages and divines, with princes and potentates. We can trace him, too, through all those bitter agonies of spirit through which he struggled on, and on, till at last he seized upon the truth which made him free for ever. But, to us, Wiclif appears almost as a solitary being. He stands before us in a sort of grand and mysterious loneliness. To groupe him, if we may so speak, with other men, would require a very strong effort of the imagination. And hence it is, that we meditate on his story with emotions of solemn admiration, but without any turbulent agitation of our sympathies.

'In this penury of information, tradition steps in, as it were, to "help us with a little help". Various stories, it would appear, are current to this day in the town of Lutterworth, respecting its ancient and renowned Rector. But the only one among them that appears worthy of attention, is that which represents him as admirable in all the functions of a parochial minister. A portion of each morning, it is said, was regularly devoted to the relief of the necessitous, to the consolation of the afflicted, and to the discharge of every pious office, by the bed of sickness and of death. Every thing which is actually known respecting Wiclif, combines to render this account extremely credible. The duties of the Christian ministry form the incessant burden of a considerable portion of his writings. To the faithfulness and assiduity with which he discharged one very essential portion of those duties, the extant manuscripts of his parochial discourses bear ample and honourable testimony. There is nothing, therefore, which can tempt the most sceptical caution to question the report which describes him as exemplary in every department of his sacred stewardship. "Good priests", he himself tells us, "who live well, in purity of thought, and speech, and deed, and in good example to the people, who teach the law of God, up to their knowledge, and labour fast, day and night, to learn it better, and teach it openly and constantly, these are very prophets of God, and holy angels of God, and the spiritual lights of the world! Thus saith God, by his prophets, and Jesus Christ in his Gospel; and saints declare it well by authority and reason. Think, then, ye priests, on this noble office, and honour it, and do it cheerfully according to your knowledge and your power!" It is surely delightful to believe, that the people of Lutterworth had before their eyes, the living and breathing form of that holy benevolence which is here portrayed with so much admirable simplicity and beauty.

'The preceding narrative has already made us acquainted with the notions entertained by Wiclif relative to the endowments of the church, and the revenues of individual clergymen. And it may, perhaps, be thought somewhat remarkable, that any one who entertained such principles, should nevertheless have held, without apparent scruple,

the chair of theology at Oxford, a prebendal stall, and a parochial rectory. Of the value of these preferments, we are in no condition to form any satisfactory estimate; they must, however, in all probability, have been considerable: at any rate, they must have been far beyond the measure of what was needful to supply the moderate necessities of life, at a time when the sacred office doomed its professors to celibacy; and, therefore, far beyond what his system would seem to allot, as the legitimate provision of a Christian minister. The truth is, that Wiclif seems to have regarded all the endowments of the Church as a manifest departure from the original spirit of the Christian system. Had he been allowed to remodel our ecclesiastical policy, he would, probably, have made the clergy dependent on the voluntary offerings of the people. However, he found a different scheme actually established; and he, doubtless, considered himself at liberty to conform to it, provided the funds entrusted to his stewardship were administered by him according to the intention of the original donor. This intention, he understood to be, that the holder of those funds should retain for his own use so much as might be required for his own support, upon a frugal and moderate scale; but that, for every thing beyond his own personal wants, he should stand in the place of perpetual almoner to the founder, and perpetual trustee for the poor.

‘ Now there appears no reasonable cause to question that Wiclif acted faithfully up to this principle. His adversaries have never breathed a syllable to the disparagement of his integrity in this particular. He has never, that I am aware, been charged, by those who most cordially hated him, with inconsistency, for accepting or retaining his preferments, or with avarice and selfishness in the disposal of his emoluments. And when we combine this consideration with the traditional accounts of him, which still survive at Lutterworth, the almost irresistible inference is, that he did actually regard all his superfluities as strictly consecrated to the relief of indigence.

‘ With regard to the private life and personal habits of Wiclif, it has never been denied by his adversaries, that, in these respects, he was altogether above impeachment or suspicion. But it requires no inconsiderable exercise of patience, to observe the spirit which seems to have presided over the representations given of him by some whom we might naturally expect to find among his friends. By these, he is pictured to us rather in the light of an unquiet political agitator, than of a devout and spiritual servant of Christ\*. The foundation for this charge, it is beyond my capacity to discover. It is true, that his great reputation fixed the eyes of the country upon him as the fittest person to vindicate his country from the ignominy and the oppression of the Papal tribute;—that the same cause despatched him among other illustrious men, as the representative of her ecclesiastical interests in the embassy to Bruges;—and, lastly, that the Parliament of England resorted to the sanction of his judgement, when they resolved, that the very marrow of the realm should no longer be drained out, to pamper the greediness and ambition of a foreign court. Services like these

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\* Milner's Church History.



would seem to demand of Englishmen no other sentiments than those of gratitude and reverence; and that eye must, indeed, be keen to "pry into abuses," which can discover in the performance of such services, any grievous departure from the sacredness of the spiritual functions. An English ecclesiastic, of distinguished sagacity and erudition, was employed to defend the Church and State of England against the rapacity of aliens; and this too, in an age, when the talents and accomplishments of Churchmen were constantly in requisition for all the most arduous responsibilities of secular office. This is the whole truth and substance of the case. If, indeed, it could be shewn, that the days and nights of Wiclif had been wholly, or chiefly, consumed in occupations and engagements of this description,—and that his powers were thus diverted from the peculiar channel in which the main current of a Churchman's exertions ought indisputably to flow,—there might be some pretence for this invidious exhibition of his character. But the fact is not so. The occurrences in question were nothing more than short episodes in his life. We have only to look into his writings, or even into a catalogue of his writings, to see how small a portion of his time on earth was absorbed by matters in which politics had the slightest concern. And the more rigorously those writings are scrutinized, the more clearly will it appear, that no confessor was ever animated by a more disinterested, unworldly, and devotional spirit, than the man who enjoyed the friendship of John of Gaunt, and the confidence of the British Parliament\*.

'The imperfect justice hitherto rendered to the memory of Wiclif, as a man of deep religious affections, may, in part, be the natural effect of that peculiar interest which attaches to his character as the antagonist of a corrupt hierarchy. We have been accustomed to regard him, chiefly, as the scourge of imposture,—the ponderous hammer that smote upon the brazen idolatry of his age; and our thoughts have thus been too much withdrawn from the work which was constantly going forward within the recesses of his own spirit. A more just and patient consideration of his writings will shew us, that the demolition of error and of fraud was not more constantly present to his mind, than the building up of holy principles and affections. These two objects are, for the most part, closely interwoven with each other; and this it is, together with his use of the vernacular tongue, which gave his writings their wide and powerful influence.' pp. 294—301.

In noticing the immediate predecessors of Wiclif, Professor Le Bas does justice to the two illustrious names of Bradwardine and Fitzralph. 'The latter', he remarks, 'was an object of the deepest veneration with our Reformer.' It is next to impossible

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\* 'The limits of this work forbid the introduction of passages from the works of Wiclif in support of this assertion. They, however, who may be desirous of satisfying themselves upon this point, have only to peruse the more diffuse volumes of Mr. Vaughan, whose laborious examination of the whole of Wiclif's writings, both printed and in MS., has enabled him, in this particular, irresistibly to vindicate his memory.'

that the former also, who was divinity-professor at Oxford not long before Wiclif entered upon his studies there, should not have exerted a most powerful influence in the formation of his character and writings; and he has been represented as Wiclif's spiritual father. Mr. Le Bas thus speaks of him:

'Well would it have been for the Christian world, if all the followers of Augustine had imbibed from his writings a temper as meek and humble as that of Bradwardine! A predestinarian in theory, he undoubtedly was. But what was the practical efficacy of this ingredient in his divinity? We may read the answer to this question in the following words: "Why do we fear to preach the doctrine of predestination of saints, and of the genuine grace of God? Is there any cause to dread, lest man should be induced to despair of his condition, when his hope is demonstrated to be founded on God alone? Is there not much stronger reason for him to despair, if, in pride and unbelief, he founds his hope of salvation on himself?" Whatever may be the merits of the predestinarian doctrine, as tried by the principles of sound philosophy, or by the language of Scripture, one thing, at least, is certain,—that the Church might regard it with comparative tranquillity, if its fruits had always been as mildly flavoured as those which it produced in the *good and honest heart* of this holy man! Uncharitable austerity and spiritual arrogance are the plants which are apt to thrive in the soil of what is now called Calvinism. But this was a growth which could not live in the soul of such a being as Bradwardine. As an adversary of Pelagius, he denounced the freedom of the human will; but it is obvious, after all, that his warfare, in reality, is not against the perfect free agency, but against the self-sufficiency of man.' pp. 76, 7.

This passage, which we suppose we must receive as a concession from a *non-Calvinist*, bears the stamp of most amiable candour. Yet, is it possible that Professor Le Bas can be so little acquainted with 'what is now called Calvinism', as not to know that he has most truly described it, when he says of Bradwardine's theology, that it wars not against the free agency, but against the self-sufficiency of man? We would willingly believe of Professor Le Bas, that, as Whitfield is reported to have remarked of La Flechière, 'he is a Calvinist, and does not know it.' He must be, in some sense, a believer in predestination, as having subscribed to the xviii Article. A few other indications of obscure theological notions have surprised us: for instance, the nice and impalpable distinction intimated at p. 33, between *witnesses* of the truth and *authorities* for it. We had supposed, that no higher authority than that of a witness could be claimed by any church; and that the only decisive authority recognized by Protestants, was the Bible. We had imagined too, that 'the sanctity of apostolical succession' was conveyed by the transmission of apostolic doctrine, not by ecclesiastical 'genealogies' which minister questions, or by 'sacerdotal rank',—an ex-

pression essentially anti-Christian. But these are high matters, which we cannot now enter into; and we must take our leave of this volume, with cordially recommending it to all those of our readers to whom Mr. Vaughan's Memoirs are inaccessible, or who, possessing them, wish to have the biographical matter lucidly compressed in an unbroken narrative, very vigorously and beautifully written.

By the way, why did not the Library of Ecclesiastical Knowledge folk start with such a volume as this from the pen of Mr. Vaughan himself, who would not have objected, probably, to abridge his own work for such a purpose? And why did they commit the indiscretion of beginning the publication of their little numbers, before they had digested their scheme, and secured their writers, and prepared some half dozen stirring volumes, accredited by names of weight, to start with? These questions will occur as we cast our eye over the prospectus of this 'Theological Library.' The second volume, which has already appeared, has for its subject "The Consistency of the whole Scheme of Revelation with itself and with Human Reason," by P. N. Shuttleworth, D.D. To this, we design to devote a separate article in a future Number. Among the other volumes announced, are, a Life of Luther, by Mr. Rose, co-editor with Archdeacon Lyall of the whole series; a History of the Inquisition, by the Rev. Blanco White; 'The Later Days of the Jewish Polity,' by Thomas Mitchell, Esq. M.A.; History of the Reformed Religion in France, by Edward Smedley, M.A.; a Life of Grotius by James Nichols, F.S.A.; and Illustrations of Eastern Manners, &c., by Professor Lee. All these, we must say, are well chosen subjects and attractive names. Had A. J. Valpy hit upon such a scheme as this, it would have realized his 'Epitome of Literature' in a much better shape, and proved, we imagine, a better speculation, in the end, than the mere reprint of 'divines.' All that we have to regret is, that this Theological Library promises to be so little of a library of theology. Highly respectable, indeed, as are the names of the Editors and those of the Authors associated in this laudable undertaking, they all bear the stamp of a certain school, yclept High-church, of which the divinity is proverbially misty, cold, and meagre.

In a 'Christian's Family Library,' under the editorship of Mr. Bickersteth, we may expect to find a more evangelical theology; and a Life of Luther from the pen of the Continuator of Milner, might be expected to vie in popularity with Le Bas's Life of the great English Reformer. But the Publishers seem not to have been well advised in the plan they have announced. A 'library' of mere reprints, is but a printer's job, an advertising title, a stale expedient for reviving old publications. What purpose can be answered by announcing new editions of popular



works already in circulation? Who wants another new edition of Bishop Hall's *Contemplations*? In point of selection, moreover, we cannot but deem the list of works announced as open to exception. At the head of it stands a new edition of Payson's *Life*, a work which never ought to have been reprinted in this country without excisions and judicious corrections, and the selection of which from the copious treasures of evangelical biography, would reflect little credit on the judgement of an editor. We speak frankly: the publishers will do well to reconsider their plan, and take advice.

We have taken this opportunity of noticing the *Anthologia Sacra*, as being, if not a theological library of itself, a very good apology or *succedaneum* for one. The work owed its commencement, we are told, to an idea which struck one of the Editors during a long residence in India.

'It occurred to him, that in that country, where neither Christian society, extensive libraries, nor experienced ministers can be frequently expected, a work embodying in one volume the views and feelings of eminent divines on the most important points of faith and practice, might be found exceedingly interesting, and indeed, by the blessing of God, extensively useful. Further reflection, together with the encouragement he has derived from the concurrent opinion of many highly esteemed friends in England, have induced him to hope that, in this country also, a work of this nature may prove acceptable.'

Of this our readers will be able to judge from the plan of the work. It is divided into three Parts; Doctrinal, Practical, Experimental. Each of these is subdivided into sections as under.

'I. §. 1. Revelation. 2. Of God. 3. Of God the Son. 4. Of God the Holy Ghost. 5. The Trinity. 6. On Man. 7. The Law and the Gospel. 8. On Regeneration and Conversion. 9. On the Sacraments. 10. On Baptism. 11. On the Lord's Supper. 12. On the Sabbath. 13. On Justification by Faith only. 14. On Adoption. 15. On Sanctification. 16. On the Future State.

'II. §. 1. Specious and deceptive Views of Religion. 2. What genuine Religion is. 3. On Holiness. 4. On the Christian Character. 5. On the World. 6. Nature and effect of Sin, with its Remedy. 7. On Self-righteousness and Self-dependence. 8. On Repentance. 9. Wherein true Knowledge consists. 10. On Prayer. 11. On Christian Duties.

'III. §. 1. Some considerations suited to the various cases of Discouragement. 2. On Faith. 3. Cautions and Instructions to the Christian. 4. The Christian Warfare. 5. On Affliction. 6. The Privileges of the Christian.'

It will not be necessary to give a list of all the writers from whom these extracts are selected: the names of a few leading ones will sufficiently indicate the spirit which has guided the

Editor. Among them we find, Archbishop Leighton, Hooker, Barrow, Dr. Owen, Bishop Butler, Howe, Charnock, Bates, Archbishop Usher, Bishops Jewel, Hooper, Hall, Hopkins, Jeremy Taylor, Sanderson, and Reynolds, John Bradford, Calvin, Beza, Luther, Witsius, Flavel, Gurnall, Maclaurin, Traill, Adam, Watts, Doddridge, Robert Hall, Booth, Dwight, Bridge, Wardlaw, Hervey, Cecil, Erskine, Romaine, Newton, &c. Such a selection will be its own recommendation; and we cannot doubt that it will realize the design of the Editors by its extensive usefulness.

Still, these various libraries of religious knowledge must be considered as expedients better adapted to diffuse, than to advance 'sacred science'; as fitted to please and benefit religious readers, rather than to command the attention, and to meet the moral wants of the large proportion to whom theology is distasteful and religion itself an enigma. With the intelligent and cultivated sceptic, the high-church theologian has little chance of success, beyond that of compelling his recognition of the historic evidence of Christianity. As regards the substance of religion, his own views are too obscure, dubious, and perplexed to allow of his exhibiting the truth in its genuine simplicity and force. On the other hand, the evangelical theologian, identifying his more Scriptural views with a technical phraseology which imparts as much obscurity to his expressions as clouds the doctrines of the other, fails, for a different reason, of conveying the adequate representation of the truth to those who have not been trained in the same school. But what are we doing, if religious knowledge is not forcing for itself new channels, and adapting itself to the new circumstances of society;—if it is not throwing off, with all other kinds of knowledge, the dead and worn out forms of truth, and clothing itself with purer colours, and putting forth a new energy;—if it is not *subduing* all other kinds of knowledge to itself, permeating our literature, rather than maintaining the distinctness of an incongruous and immiscible element, and vindicating the claims of theology—too long the mere pastime of divines—to the character of the most certain, as well as the most sacred of sciences?

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Art. VI. *Calabria*, during a Military Residence of Three Years: in a Series of Letters, by a General Officer of the French Army. From the original MS. Small 8vo. pp. xvi. 360. Price 10s. 6d. London. 1832.

'IT is a curious circumstance', remarks Dr. M'Crie, 'that the first gleam of light at the revival of letters, shone on that remote spot of Italy where the Vaudois had found an asylum' \*.

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\* M'Crie's *Reformation in Italy*, p. 4.

That spot was Calabria. Petrarch first acquired a knowledge of the Greek tongue from Barlaam, a Calabrian monk; and when the Reformation dawned on Italy, the Waldensian colony, founded by emigrants from the Cottian Alps, and increased by fugitives from Piedmont and France, where a fierce persecution raged against those early Protestants, still continued to flourish. At length, 'after subsisting for nearly two centuries, it was basely and barbarously exterminated.' The germ of Christian civilization was thus destroyed, which might have converted the Calabrian wilds into the abodes of peaceful industry and independence. What is Calabria now? According to the present Writer, 'a Paradise abandoned to demons',—the abode of a barbarous and depressed peasantry, still groaning under the feudal yoke, and the haunt of the most desperate and ferocious brigands that ever infested society. The only exception seems to be afforded by the descendants of Albanian settlers, who, like the Waldensian emigrants, sought in these mountains an asylum from tyranny. In the fifteenth century, a great number of Greek families, fleeing from the persecutions to which they were subjected after the death of Scanderbeg, Prince of Albania, took refuge in the kingdom of Naples, and principally in Calabria, where the Government encouraged them to settle, by grants of forest land.

'The descendants of these refugees have preserved to this day the manners, language, and religion of their country, as also their original costume, which produces a remarkably agreeable effect by its richness and elegance. They are industrious, hospitable, and far from being addicted to brigandage. They know how to make themselves respected by the ferocious hordes that surround them, and against whom they are always on their guard. The harmony and peace which prevail among them, might serve as a model for the country in which they have found an asylum.' p. 151.

We are not informed whether the canton of Rogliano (near Cosenza) is peopled by these Albanian Greeks, which is thus described:

'The environs of Rogliano are splendidly beautiful at this season. The land rising with a gradual ascent to the top of that vast platform, the Sylva, presents on all sides a magnificent view. The mountains, arrayed in verdure of different tints, exhibit numberless villages and country seats, which give a most animated appearance to this fine region. It would be difficult to find in any country a canton better peopled, more fertile, and better cultivated, than this. It forms a happy exception to the rest of Calabria.' p. 155.

The explanation of the phenomenon is not supplied. Of the general aspect and condition of these provinces, we have the following description:

'Nature has done every thing for this country; but the vices of the government have marred its prosperity for many ages. The condition



of the peasants is most wretched: property is extremely disproportioned, there being in Calabria very few persons of moderate incomes. Small proprietors are very rarely to be met with, and in no country is there a more sudden transition from dire indigence to superabundant wealth. The consequence is, that total want of emulation which is everywhere to be observed. The climate and the soil do more than half the work, and the hand of man defeats the execution of the remainder. Thus it happens, that productions of every kind are at this day, in Calabria, only the spontaneous gifts of Nature without any aid from art.

‘ With the exception of a few cities, and some towns that are regularly built, all the other frequented places present the most miserable and disgusting appearance. The whole interior of their houses is a mass of revolting filth. The pigs live familiarly with the inmates, and it often happens that infants in the cradle are devoured by them. These animals are of a particular species, and quite black: they are so numerous, that they obstruct all the streets and the approach to every house.

‘ When we consider that ancient Greece has been, of all countries in the universe, the best peopled, the most civilized, and the best cultivated, it is impossible, in the present day, not to deplore the lot of so fine a country as this, condemned for ages to see itself perishing through each succeeding year, and becoming the abode of misery and pestilence. The rivers desolate the lands on which they border, and leaving in their course a noxious deposition of mud, infect a great part of the country, so that the inhabitants are obliged to abandon their ancient possessions. Earthquakes have also caused many melancholy changes. Every thing bears testimony to the cruel ravages occasioned by that of 1783. This frightful catastrophe, which has altered the aspect of these countries in an inconceivable manner, was first announced by the most appalling indications. Close, compact, and immoveable mists seemed to hang heavily over the earth: in some places, the atmosphere appeared red-hot, so that it was every moment expected it would burst out in flames: the water of the rivers assumed an ashy and turbid colour, while a suffocating stench of sulphur diffused itself around. The violent shocks which were repeated at several intervals from the 5th of February to the 28th of May, destroyed the greater part of the buildings of further Calabria. The number of inhabitants who were crushed under the ruins of their houses, or who perished on the strands of Scylla, was estimated at about 50,000. The rivers, arrested in their course by the fall of mountains, became so many infected lakes, corrupting the air in all directions. Houses, trees, and large fields were hurried down together to the bottom of deep glens, without being separated by the shock;—in short, all the extraordinary calamities and changes which can be effected by earthquakes, were beheld at this deplorable period, under the various forms which characterised them.

‘ After such convulsions of nature, it will not appear extraordinary that Calabria retains but few monuments which attest its grandeur and opulence as a colony founded by the ancient Greeks. The splendid and luxurious Sybaris was entirely destroyed by the Crotonians, who turned the course of two rivers upon the site which this superb city

occupied. The celebrated Crotona, ravaged and razed in its turn, is at this day nothing better than a sorry little hamlet, preserving in its vicinity, as the only memorial of its ancient grandeur, a single column of the temple of Juno Lacinia. Gerace, built on the ruins of the ancient Locri, has some remains which shew how vast must have been the extent of a republic that was successively pillaged by every people it hastened to receive. But if the remains of antiquity spread over this classic land could have miraculously escaped the destroying hand of time, and the shocks of earthquakes, they must still have perished through the ignorance and barbarism of the Calabrians.' pp. 134—9.

So complete has been the destruction of Sybaris, that not a trace of that magnificent and voluptuous capital is now remaining; so that, despite of the historical certainty of its site, to an ordinary observer, we are told, its existence in such a place might appear a physical impossibility. The two rivers (*Sybaris*, now the *Cocillo*, and *Chratis*) which at once ornamented and fertilized the plain, have transformed it into a foul marsh, which, during the hot weather, exhales the most pestilential vapours. The surrounding scenery is, however, most beautiful, and that part of the land which is not inundated, produces grain in abundance; while a vast extent of pasture-land is covered, during the winter, with herds and flocks. The whole region is divided between the Dukes of Cassano and Corigliano.

Calabria is not so completely a *terra incognita* as the Translator of these Letters imagines; nor is he warranted in affirming, that they contain the only accurate and authentic account of the country 'now extant.' To say nothing of works in other languages, the Hon. Mr. Craven's "Tour through the Southern Provinces of Naples," published in 1821\*, contains a much fuller description of the two Calabrias, than is to be found in the slight, though pleasing and graphic sketches of the present Writer. The chief interest of the volume consists in its affording an insight into the state of the country at the time (1808), and supplying incidental illustrations of the condition and character of the people. It must be borne in mind, however, that the Author entered the country under the most unfavourable circumstances possible, as attached to a foreign army detested by the inhabitants, both as invaders and as French. The Writer apologizes for the 'violent measure' of establishing military commissions in all the towns of Calabria, by urging, that it was 'judged necessary, to put down that spirit of brigandage which, being supported by the English, and encouraged by the greater part of the inhabitants, caused, day after day, considerable loss to the French, and, if not suppressed, must have ended by pro-

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\* See Eclectic Review, Second Series, Vol. XVI. p. 385.

‘ducing a fresh insurrection.’ This is a *naïve* way of expressing, or rather disguising the fact, that a successful guerilla warfare was maintained by the Calabrian mountaineers against the French army; that the English were regarded as allies, while the presence of a strong French force, and the most atrocious severities practised by the military commissions, alone prevented a general ‘insurrection’ of the inhabitants. Of the nature of the strong measures to which the French ‘Government’ had recourse, here is a characteristic specimen.

‘Another expedient, which totally failed in producing the good effects that were expected to result from it, was the organization of a Civic Guard, in which the officers were composed of the principal proprietors of the soil,—persons naturally interested in preserving the public peace, and in protecting their possessions from the attacks of the brigands, who committed such frequent devastations upon them. It was thought, that they might very effectually serve to maintain order while acting in concert with the French troops. The selection of the men who were to form the several companies, was left to the free discretion of the officers. Afterwards, by a general order, promulgated and posted up through every part of the country, the use of arms was forbidden, under the most severe penalties, to all those who had not enrolled their names under the authority of the Civic Guard. The Calabrians, being in general passionately fond of the chase, now made the strongest professions of attachment to the Government, earnestly soliciting at the same time that they might be permitted to form part of this force. The number, however, being exceedingly limited in each commune, a violent degree of rivalry and contention arose among the parties, and the greatest disorders ensued. On the one side were witnessed arrogance, vexatious annoyance, and abuse of power, for the purpose of destroying personal enemies by charging them with crimes that were to come under the cognizance of the Military Commission; on the other side, vengeance, and a junction with brigands to destroy the property of the denouncing parties.

‘This conflict of so many vile passions, this inextricable labyrinth of odious intrigues and dark plots, renders the office of the judges of the Military Commission equally painful and embarrassing. The prisons of Cosenza were crowded to such a degree, that an epidemic broke out, which threatened to spread all over the city, and it was therefore thought advisable to diminish the number of inmates, by releasing a considerable body of persons; who, on account of their tender age, appeared to deserve some indulgence. A similar measure being adopted throughout all the prisons of Calabria, thousands of individuals issued forth, who were conducted to Naples in chains, like so many galley-slaves, and escorted by French troops. These young people, the greater part of whom have been prowling about with the brigands, are dispersed through some newly-raised Neapolitan regiments, from which they will most assuredly seek the very first opportunity to desert, and return armed and equipped to their former course of life.’ pp. 46—49.



Of course, what a writer thus circumstanced, alleges respecting the character of the inhabitants, must be received with caution and allowance. A French soldier ought not to have been quite so pathetic on the subject of brigandage. The scene of the battle of Maida, or, as the French call it, of St. Eufemia, calls forth the following remarks.

‘ I have contemplated, with a good deal of interest, the memorable scene of the battle of St. Euphemia: I say memorable, for it is much talked of in this country; and judging from the localities, I should consider it would have been much better to have trusted to the malign influence of the climate in the month of July, which could not fail to destroy the English army.

‘ At a distance of five miles from Nicastro, stands the miserable village of St. Euphemia, built on the ruins of an old city, which has given its name to the bay. It was once considerable, and was destroyed in 1638 by a frightful earthquake, which converted the fine country round it into one vast and fetid lake.

‘ Never am I destined to have done with that eternal plague of Calabria—brigandage. The forest of St. Euphemia is generally known as the haunt of one of the most active of the bandit chiefs. It was from this point chiefly that intelligence was received of the English being in correspondence with the numerous bands spread over the surface of the two provinces. The facility of debarkation has doubtless induced them to give a preference to this spot, bordering, as it does, on a high and woody mountain, the passes through which can secure them access to those of the interior of the country. This forest, extremely thick, and with a swampy soil, is a mysterious labyrinth, of which none but the brigands can discover the clue. So complex and intricate are its numberless avenues, and so obstructed with underwood, which is absolutely impenetrable when defended by an armed force, that our troops have never been able to open a way through. An old villain named Benincasa, the most noted of all the Calabrian brigands, is the great leader of the several hordes that infest this dangerous quarter. Covered with murders and atrocities long before the arrival of the French, he could only escape justice by flying to the woods, and rallying around him a numerous band of assassins. Last autumn an attempt was made to destroy this frightful haunt; and to ensure success, it was determined to treat with Benincasa, and offer him and his associates very advantageous terms; but the business has proceeded so slowly, and with so little address, that nothing effectual has yet been accomplished; while these brigands, fearing to be routed from their den, have again taken to the open country, after having committed all sorts of horrible atrocities.

‘ The habits of a lawless mode of life, and of an independence equally savage and ferocious, in which the Calabrian peasants are bred up from their infancy, have constantly rendered useless all those amnesties which have so often been tried. They regard as a stratagem all means of lenity and persuasion to which we seek to have recourse, or as a proof of our weakness; hence nothing but the utmost rigour can be employed against them with effect.’ pp. 75—78.

Near the ruins of the ancient Locri, our Officer fell in with a band of that ubiquitous race called gipsies, who are found even in this remote peninsula of Europe, speaking the language of the country, with a foreign accent, but preserving here, as every where else, their own dialect. Their ostensible pursuit in Calabria, is to work at old iron; but they more frequently support themselves by fortune-telling, horse-dealing, and other 'juggling' expedients. Upon the whole, the Volume is entertaining enough; but we cannot refrain from remarking, that the high price put upon it, is not justified even by the showy lithograph print which forms the frontispiece.

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Art. VII. *Art in Nature, and Science anticipated.* By Charles Williams. 18mo. London, 1832.

THE first of these conversations, 'The Paper-makers,' appeared in the Juvenile Forget-me-not for 1832; and a very pleasing and well designed paper, we imagine, every reader must have thought it. The subjects of the remainder of the series are not less attractive; and to young students of nature, the titles of the chapters present so many curious enigmas. We have an account of the Confectioners, the Silk-manufacturers, the Musicians, the Carpenters, the Masons, the Constitutionals, the Aëronauts, the Boat-builders, the Illuminators, the Miners, the Soldiers, the Upholsterers, the Tailors, the Architects, and the Geometricians of the Insect or feathered world. The volume is excellently adapted to interest young persons in the phenomena of natural history, and to make them 'Nature's playmates;' while the religious sentiment blended with this entertaining knowledge, will tend to keep alive the impression on their minds, that

'—Nature is but a name for an effect  
Whose cause is God.'

The volume is altogether 'a very pretty book,' and one which we can cordially recommend. We will make room for a single specimen.

'E. And so, papa, these are some of the little carpenters. But, though I did not know till now there were any, yet, I should think, they are not all.

'Mr. E. No, my dear; nor shall I be able to mention all; there are several kinds; and I and mamma will tell you of a few of each. Perhaps, my dear, you will give them an account of the carpenter-ants.

Mrs. E. With pleasure. The emmet, or jet-ant, so called from its shining black colour, may sometimes be met with in hedges, and in the trunks of decayed oak, or willow-trees. The labourers always

work in the inside of trees, and are desirous of doing so in secret. On one side of their buildings, Huber found horizontal galleries, hidden in great part by their walls; and on another parallel galleries, separated by very thin partitions; having no communication, except by a few oval openings. In other fragments of their edifices, (for he could never get them to work under his inspection,) he found avenues, which opened sideways, including parts of walls and partitions, erected here and there within the galleries, so as to form separate chambers. When the work is further advanced, pillars are cut out in the same wall, and are worked into regular columns. In some cases, these same partitions, pierced in every part and hewn skilfully, are made into colonnades, which support the upper stairs, and leave a free communication throughout the whole. To the building they give an extreme degree of lightness. "I have seen," says Huber, "fragments from eight to ten inches in length, and of equal height, formed of wood as thin as paper, containing a number of apartments, and presenting the most singular appearance. At the entrance of them, worked out with so much care, are very considerable openings; but in place of chambers and extensive galleries, the layers of the wood are hewn in arcades, allowing the ants a free passage in every direction. These may be considered the gates, or vestibules, conducting to the several lodges."

'F. How clever that is! Are there any other ants that are so skilful?

'Mrs. E. Yes; and some have the ingenuity to mix up the chips, which they chisel out, with spider's web, and thus to make a material of which to form entire chambers.

'E. Mamma, what tools can they have for all this? A man cannot work without *them*. When Sam Turner was here the other day, and I told him Edward's barrow was broke, he said he could not mend it, for he *hadn't* his tools.

'Mrs. E. Their only tools, like those of bees and wasps, are their mandibles; and thus they have two advantages over Sam Turner: they are never troubled by their weight; and they cannot regret, when out, that they have left them at home. Besides, what would he say, could you give him one tool which could do every thing? And yet this is their case.

'F. Papa, are any bees famous in this way?

'Mr. E. There is one, almost as large as the humble bee, not so downy, but more deeply coloured, which, when spring comes, shuns the sappy and green wood, which is probably too tough for its purpose, and seeks for some old post or withered part of a tree, to begin its house. It will not, however, select any wood placed in a spot where the sun rarely shines. As soon as a piece of that which is dry and rotten is found, it begins to bore it; and, having gone to a certain depth, changes the direction of the cavity;—a work which occupies it for some weeks. For days together, the carpenter-bee may be seen going in and out of its hole, and shovelling out the saw-dust which it has produced. The cavity is from twelve to fifteen inches long, and often broad enough to admit a man's forefinger. A single bee will make two or three of these holes in a season.

'E. And what is all this labour for, papa?



' *Mr. E.* The cavity is divided into about twelve parts, each intended to receive an egg. The lowest part forms the basis of the first recess, where the insect piles up bee-bread about an inch in height; on the top of this one egg is laid, and over the whole a roof is formed, which serves as a cover to the bottom chamber, and a floor for the second which is above. Each partition is about as thick as a crown-piece; and the making of it is very curious. The bee begins by glueing the particles of saw-dust round the *outside* of the cavity, so as to make a ring; *inside* this, she glues more; and thus she gradually works from the outside to the centre; and at last, a covering of circles of saw-dust, one within the other, is formed.

' *F.* Does she make more cells than one?

' *Mrs. E.* Yes; she proceeds as she did at first, until the whole space is filled up with cells. The shape and size of each she knows well, and even the exact quantity of food which the grub will eat, from the moment of its birth to its maturity; and hence she places this in its abode.' pp. 116—119.

Art. VIII. *Narrative of certain Events connected with the late Disturbances in Jamaica, and the Charges preferred against the Baptist Missionaries in that Island: being the Substance of a Letter to the Secretary of the Baptist Missionary Society, dated March 13, 1832. Published by Order of the Committee of the Society.* 8vo, pp. 40. London, 1832.

**I**N our March Number, before we had received any other account of the disturbances in Jamaica, than the official statements printed in the Newspapers, we expressed the conviction, derived from a perusal of those documents, that the insurrection would prove to have been wholly unconnected with religion, but that attempts would be made by the Whites of Jamaica to raise a persecution against the Missionaries. The information since received, has fully borne out our former inference, and more than justified our worst suspicions. With regard to the causes of the rebellion, Mr. Abbott writes:—

' The true cause will appear to be this. The slaves have become enlightened; they have learned to read; they have read the daily papers, and have, in consequence, read the reports of speeches made at the "*meetings of Delegates*" held in this island last year, in which their masters declare, that they *will not be dictated to by the Mother Government*, and that they would spill the last drop of their blood, before the slaves should be free. Such sentiments as these (we have reason to believe from the confessions of many slaves) induced them to think that freedom was sent out to them by the King, but their masters kept it from them; and though we must all deplore the *means* adopted by them for obtaining it, there is not a doubt but a desire to be free, and that desire alone, was the cause of their adopting it.'

And is that a desire which Englishmen can regard as criminal?

Lord Byron expressed a wish that the Irish had been *born black*, for then they would have become objects of interest to Mr. Wilberforce and the philanthropists. We may as justly say, if the slaves in the West India Colonies had *not* been born black, their success in delivering themselves from bondage, and asserting their rights as men, might have won applause and congratulation from our liberals. And if the West India planters were but Ottomans, instead of Christians, who would not rejoice at hearing of their extermination?

With regard to the conspiracy of the Jamaica Whites against the Missionaries, it may justly be characterized as thoroughly Turkish; for the suborning of false witnesses has not hitherto been deemed consistent with even the nominal profession of a Christian creed. That magistrates, rectors of parishes, and officers of militia should be found aiding and abetting a savage mob in pulling down chapels dedicated to the worship of God, and in plundering the houses of unoffending British subjects, is not a very usual occurrence; although such things have occurred in former times. But the facts detailed in the following statement could scarcely have taken place any where except in the West Indies.

‘I may here give you, my dear Sir, a few specimens of the base means resorted to by the *great men*, in eliciting evidence from slaves and others, for the purpose of criminating your Missionaries; we are not authorized to use the names of those persons who have furnished us with the following statements, though, if *necessary*, we can get them substantiated *on oath*! A free member of Mr. B.’s church was charged with having received letters from Mr. B. She was taken up and examined, when the following threats were made use of to induce her to implicate Mr. B. by a *Magistrate*. “Now we have *good proof* that you *did* receive them (letters); now tell us the *truth*; if you *don’t* there is a boat ready to ship you off.” She replied, “I cannot tell a *lie* upon myself or Mr. B. I never did receive any letters.” Magistrate, “Now, my good woman, I won’t send for a Constable to take you to the Court-House, but I will carry you myself, so you *had better tell the truth*.” He then took her to the Court-House, and put her on *handcuffs*, among 100 or more Negroes, where she remained from 2 P.M. until the next day, when a Lieut.-Colonel (Militia) came and said, “Have you not letters from Mr. B.?” Woman, “No.” Col. “Are you not a *Baptist*?” Woman, “Yes!” Col. “You see the *gallows* out there! (pointing to it,) if they were to hang up Mr. B. and yourself, how you would *holloa*! they must let down Mr. B. and hang yourself.” Much more followed of the same nature, when Mr. M. examined her, and finding nothing against her she was discharged. Again, Mr. — was present when one of the Militia officers held his *sword over a negro’s head*, and pointing to the gallows said, “If you do not tell me something about the Baptist parsons, you shall *be hung up there*.” Mr. L. told us that after the committal of Mr. B. a gentleman said to him, that he *feared* the evidence against Mr. B. would

not be sufficient to *condemn* him, and, were they to *acquit* him, it would be the worst thing they could do for the colony;" and Mr. L. added, that as such was the case, they would move earth and hell to procure *more* evidence against him. Other cases occurred at Lucea; a free coloured man was present when Dr. — took a Negro man prisoner, and interrogated him in this manner. Dr. "Did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" Negro, "No, Sir!" Dr. "Tell me the truth, tell me that Mr. B. *did* tell you to do so, or I'll BLOW YOUR BRAINS OUT" (at the same time presenting a pistol at his head)! The Negro at last, doubtless fearing that Dr. — would put his diabolical threat into execution, said "Ah, for true massa, me forget, the night before Mr. B. go away, him tell me simting tan so." This of course was sufficient to inculcate Mr. Burchell. Miss R. was present when the supervisor of the workhouse at Lucea was superintending the flogging of a rebel Negro. The driver gave three lashes, when the supervisor cried out, "*What, no blood yet!* tell me, you rascal, did not Mr. Burchell tell you to rebel?" Negro, "No, massa; *I don't know* Mr. Burchell, *I never see him.*" Supervisor, "Tell me, did not that bloody villain Burchell tell you to do it?" These, and similar questions, were put to the poor unfortunate creature while he was being flogged; but he persisted to the last that he did not know Mr. B. and *never* saw him. This is the kind of evidence by which we are judged, and by this we are condemned; though it frequently happens, as in the last case, that all their vile attempts are ineffectual, and do not even by *such* means procure a shadow of evidence against us.

\* \* \* \* \*

' On the 24th, the man Samuel Stennett, who had sworn falsely against Messrs. Burchell and Gardner, and on whose testimony they had been committed to gaol, made the following recantation, in the presence of Messrs. J. Manderson and T. Reaburn, which he declared he was willing to confirm on oath.

(COPY.)

' Jamaica.—Personally appeared before me, Samuel Stennett, of the parish of St. James, county of Cornwall, and island aforesaid, being duly sworn, maketh oath and saith, That the affidavit made by him against the Baptist Missionaries, T. Burchell and F. Gardner, which led to their confinement in gaol, was false and unjust; that he never heard from them such facts as he, the deponent, hath sworn against them. That he was instigated to do so by Messrs. George Delisser, George Mc. Farquhar Lawson, jun., Joseph Bowen, and W. C. Morris, the former of whom assured him that he would be well looked upon by the gentlemen of this place, that the country would give him £10 per annum, and that he, George Delisser, would make it £50. This deponent further saith, that he is induced to make this declaration to relieve his conscience, as he knew nothing against the said Missionaries, and that he never joined the Baptist Society as a member until after Mr. Burchell had left the country. So help me God.

' *Joseph Bowen*, one of the above named gentlemen, is a *Magistrate*, the *very individual* who issued a warrant for the apprehension of



Mr. Burchell, *one* of the two who *sat* at the time he was brought into the Justice Hall, and joined in *committing* him, one of those actively engaged in the *white rebellion*! and the individual who said, the day on which the chapel here was destroyed, "that any man who afforded shelter to the Missionaries that night should have his house pulled about his ears." In consequence of the man Stennett's declaration, he was called upon to appear before the sitting Magistrates, and was asked by one of them if he was willing to swear to the statement which he had made, to which he replied, "Yes." One of the Magistrates then said, "Take care what you are about; you will be sent to the pillory if you swear to that statement", and much more to the same effect. He (S. Stennett) then said, "I do not care;" and turning to some of those who he declared had bribed him, and who were present, abruptly said, "You *know* you did tell me to do so." He was not however allowed to swear to the deposition; when Messrs. Manderson and Reaburn sent in their affidavits on oath to the Magistrates, that they had *heard* him say that he had been bribed by the above named gentlemen, on which he was committed to gaol. Mr. Manderson proposed on the following morning to the Magistrates, that Messrs. B. and G. should be liberated on bail; but the proposition was not acceded to, although the man on whose sole testimony they were committed had thus publicly contradicted his own statement.

pp. 24 - 29.

Our readers have probably heard, that it has been found impossible to convict the persecuted Missionaries; and Mr. Burchell is now on his way to this country, where his personal testimony will have its due weight.

We abstain from further comment. Many subjects of inquiry suggest themselves: *ex. gr.*: Who is to be at the cost of rebuilding the Baptist chapels destroyed by the Jamaica magistrates? Are these magistrates to enjoy impunity, and to retain their functions? Are parties who clamour for compensation for a hypothetical loss, to render none for wilful damage and injury? Are the lives of Christian ministers in any part of his Majesty's dominions, to be at the mercy of such miscreants? Is that infernal system which has now declared open war against Christianity, to be tolerated much longer? Can no better use be made of Jamaica, than to grow sugar in, at a loss to the planter himself, at the cost to this country of a tax, and by means of the heaven-defying crime of oppression and injustice? If so, the sooner we are rid of the island, the better. We can buy sugar elsewhere.

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Art. IX. *Four Sermons on the Priesthood of Christ.* By Theophilus Lessey. 8vo. pp. 174. Price 4s.

**T**HE Author of the present volume appears before the public with credit. The sermons are distinguished for good taste,

judgement, and pathos. A spring of pure devotion keeps welling through every page; and this, though we may be theoretically at issue with the writer on a minor point or two, preserves us not only in a state of good feeling, but enables us to rejoice in the presence of such a Christian labourer in the field. If there be a fault in the preacher, it is to be found in his exuberance;—if a fault in his style, as separate from the matter, it is in the weight of epithet which the sentences are constrained to support;—and if a fault in the book, it is in its typography: but we are borne away from these by the importance of the subject, together with the manner in which it is handled, as a slight blemish in the canvas is lost sight of in a general survey of the work of the artist. An extract or two will shew the state of mind which the Author has brought to the discussion of his texts, as well as the manner in which he brings them home to the business and bosoms of his readers. He remarks, that which ‘operated with considerable ‘force’ upon his mind in ‘the subjects discussed’, was, ‘their influence on the retired experience of genuine Christians’.

‘These, be it remembered’, continues he, ‘are not doctrines of mere speculation, intended only to furnish materials for controversial debate and extended argumentation, or simply to form the articles of an orthodox creed; they are not questions of critical erudition, on which the learned only may exercise the force and sagacity of their penetration, and yet feel no more during the exercise than if they were performing an algebraical process. No, they are vital, penetrating and transforming; they are not only directive to the understanding, but influential on the heart; they are words of *life* and *spirit*, and when brought into the soul by the power of that divine Agent, whose office it is to render them efficient, they are sensibly felt, moving through all the various faculties, enlightening the understanding, actuating the will, and inspiring and elevating all the affections.’ Preface, 5, 6.

In further urging the experimental bearings of the general subject, in the body of the discourses, and the propriety of which can only be fully seen by a perusal of the whole, he observes:—

‘Conversion from iniquity, was the grand doctrine, so constantly and urgently inculcated by the Apostles, as the substance of religion; and so powerfully confirmed by the accompanying energy of the Holy Spirit. Whenever the gospel is preached, faithfully and prayerfully, it will be attended by the penetrating and purifying fire of this divine Agent. It is not a mere revelation of general truths, and appropriate rites, which, as objects of speculation only, will but lightly affect us; it is a day of gracious visitation; a ministry of active and transforming energy, by which our *iniquity is purged away, and our transgressions forgiven*; it is the going forth of our great high priest, clothed in the garments of salvation, to bless the people; wherever he comes, truth springs out of the earth, and righteousness looks down from heaven; his words are life and spirit; his looks impart joy and peace,

while from his sacred form, issue streams of light and glory, which give to the vision of mortals, a manifestation of heaven. In this dispensation of beatitudes, he will pursue his radiant course, till the whole human family is *blessed in him, and all nations call him blessed.*'  
p. 86.

Again: Religion

'is not as some have misrepresented it, a mere notion of the mind, an unproductive theory. It uniformly displays itself in the practice of piety, and the exercise of real godliness, filling and enriching the character with *whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report.* But it is from the abundant treasure of the regenerated heart, that these moral virtues proceed; it is there that the fountain of all these clear and crystal streams subsists, *springing up into eternal life.* It is in the heart, that the Holy Spirit conducts that new creation, by which it is formed into his own consecrated dwelling-place; and prepared for the fruition of present and everlasting felicity. There he originates and actuates all those spiritual graces, which enter into the constitution of the new creature, and comprise the very essence of its character. There he richly diffuses the love of God, which circulates, in warm and vital influence, through the whole frame; it is there, in short, that the soul of religion dwells, as in the central seat of its existence, supplying to every part of the renewed man, life and animation.'

pp. 153, 4.

Experimental truth thus enforced, by a mind thus imbued, must ever have associated with it correct, serious, and elevated views of the 'Priesthood of Christ.'

'It is no matter of surprise,' says the Preacher, 'that it should form the leading subject of a revelation from Heaven. For though men, darkened and depraved by sin, can perceive in it nothing excellent to esteem,—nothing beautiful to admire,—nothing glorious to anticipate,—yet is it (the subject of redemption) the work of God: that on which, more than any other, his heart is fixed; and to accomplish which, he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up, as the only sacrifice by which an atonement could be made. To angelic beings, it is the subject of eager enquiry and intense interest. And, along the whole tract of revelation, from the first age of the world, we perceive the great Restorer of the human race, hastening forward through successive scenes of symbolic instruction, of typical representation, and of prophetic discovery, to that eventful era in the progress of time, regarded by infinite Wisdom as the maturity of preceding ages, and the proper and appointed period for bringing the great plan of human redemption to its full perfection.'—p. 10.

After lucidly stating and defending his subject, he then bursts forth in the following impassioned strain, which is cited only as a



specimen of the many examples we have of the pathetic scattered through the volume.

‘ Let us cleave to this great doctrine,—the actual atonement made for sin by the death of Christ,—with all the firmness and determination of soul, arising from a conviction of its supreme worth and importance. It was on the cross that the atonement was made. From that cross, on which the agonized sufferer exclaimed, *It is finished*, did there ascend up to heaven the smoke of a sacrifice, the efficacy of which extends through all periods of time, and comprehends all the successive generations of men, from the first parent of our race, down to his last descendant. In Gethsemane he received from the hand of the Father the cup of trembling, and on the hill of Calvary he drank it off, and thus *tasted death for every man*. It was there, and then, that he stretched forth his bleeding hand, and gathering together the sentence of death, which had extended over the whole human family, he *took it out of the way, nailing it to his cross*. Then, was the fountain opened for sin and for uncleanness.’ p. 46.

Without attempting to give an analysis of these discourses, or further extracting from them, we cordially recommend them to our readers, not only as specimens of pulpit eloquence, but as possessing a pure vein of evangelical truth.

## NOTICE.

Art. X. *Tales of the Saxons*. By Emily Taylor. Foolscap 8vo, pp. 234. London, 1832.

A VOLUME of pleasing tales, intended to ‘present children with a series of lively pictures of England’, in the days of Alfred, Edward the Confessor, and the Second William. The modesty with which the Author speaks of her own performance, would disarm criticism, even were there less to commend in the tasteful execution of her meritorious, but difficult task.

## ART. XI. LITERARY INTELLIGENCE.

Shortly will be published, in one volume 12mo, a *Treatise on the Universal Headship of Christ*, by the Rev. John Jefferson, Stoke Newington.

The Translator of the “*Tour of a German Prince*”, is now translating the Correspondence of Schiller and Goëthe, which, in the German, forms six volumes; but large omissions will be made, to adapt it to English taste.

Early in June will be published, in 32mo, uniform with the "Morning Portion", a new edition, with the Author's last corrections, of Dr. Hawker's Evening Portion.

Nearly ready, in one volume 8vo, *Qanoon-e-Islam*; or the Customs of the Moosulmans of India; comprising a full and exact account of their various Rites and Ceremonies, from the moment of Birth till the hour of Death; including their Fasts and Festivals (particularly the Mohurram)—their Vows and Oblations for every Month in the Year—their different Tribes and Sects, Saints and Devotees—Religious Tenets, Prayers, and Ablutions—the Calculation of Nativities—Necromancy, Exorcism, Casting out Devils, &c.—Magic Squares, Amulets, Charms, Philtres, &c.—Nuptial Festivities and Funeral Obsequies—Costumes, Ornaments, Weights, Measures, Musical Instruments, Games, &c. &c. &c. By Jaffur Shurreef (a native of the Deccan); composed under the direction of, and translated by G. A. Herklots, M.D., Surgeon on the Madras Establishment.

Preparing for publication, *Traditions of the County of York*; First Series. To be published on the same plan and uniform with the "Traditions of Lancashire." By J. Roby, M.R.S.L. It is the Author's aim, in these Traditions, to illustrate obscure portions of English history, manners and customs now obsolete, and to portray the very actors and the scenes in which they lived—the costume and character of the age in which they appeared. He would fain hope they will not be found an unimportant addition to our existing stock of knowledge, as a collection of legends having truth for their basis, however disfigured in their transmission through various modifications of error, the natural obscurity arising from distance, and the distorted media through which they must necessarily be viewed. Every tale will be embellished by an engraving or a wood-cut, illustrating the localities it involves, from drawings by the best painters, and executed in the highest style of the art. The publishers have only to state, that the very great expense which must unavoidably be incurred, renders it necessary that a certain number of subscribers' names should be procured before commencing the work; they solicit aid therefore from all who may have the opportunity and wish to patronize the undertaking, pledging themselves that no time shall be lost in completing the publication.

In the press, an Introduction to the Knowledge of British Birds, for young Persons. By R. A. Slaney, Esq., M.P. Foolscap 8vo.

In the press, *The Christian Warfare* illustrated; by the Rev. Robert Vaughan, Author of "Life and Opinions of Wycliffe", &c.: in one volume 8vo. This volume will include preliminary chapters on Human Depravity, Justification, and Spiritual Influence, and a view of the Christian Warfare as connected with Believing, Repentance, Private Devotion, Public Duty, Persecution, Religious Declension, Despondency, Occupation, Retirement, Prosperity, Adversity, the Fear of Death; Conclusion—the Claims of the Christian Warfare.

Mrs. S. C. Hall, Author of "Chronicles of a School-room," &c., is preparing for publication a Tale, in three volumes, to be entitled 'The Buccaneer, the scene of which is laid along the coast of Kent, and in the vicinity of London, during the latter years of the Protectorate.

Mr. Thackrah, of Leeds, is preparing a new and enlarged edition of his work on Employments, as affecting Health and Longevity, extending the subject of his enquiry to the General Arts, Trades, and Professions of England. His first Treatise had a particular reference to the Employments of a Clothing District only.

## ART. XII. WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

### MISCELLANEOUS.

The Present State of the Established Church, an Apology for Secession from its Communion. By a Seceding Clergyman. 8vo. 1s. 6d.

### THEOLOGY.

The Missionary Church. By W. H. Stowell. 12mo. 3s.

The Church of God, in a Series of Sermons. By the Rev. Robert Wilson Evans, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. 8vo. 10s. 6d.

An Amicable Controversy with a Jewish Rabbi, on the Messiah's Coming: unfolding New Views of Prophecy, and the Nature of the Millennium: with an entirely

New Exposition of Zechariah on the Messiah's Kingdom. By J. R. Park, M.D. &c. 8vo. 7s.

Lectures on the Inspiration of the Scriptures. By Leonard Woods, D.D. Abbot-Professor of Christian Theology in the Theological Seminary, Andover, Massachusetts. 12mo.

Lectures on Infant Baptism. By Leonard Woods, D.D. &c. 12mo.

The Self-Existence of Jehovah pledged for the Ultimate Revelation of his Glory to all Nations. A Sermon preached before the London Missionary Society, at the Tabernacle, Moorfields, on Wednesday Evening, the 9th of May, 1832. By John Morison, D.D. Minister of Trevor Chapel, Brompton. 1s. 6d.

### ERRATA in our last Number.

At page 443, line 1, for "new system," read "new Tyrtæus."

line 4, for "failed," read "foiled."

447, last line, for "patricide," read "fratricide."

••• Our readers are requested to make the above corrections. The pages in which they occur, did not pass under the Editor's eye.